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The Future of Unity in Canada — Two views, with rejoinders — Edmond Turcotte; B. K. Sandwell
New Testament Scholarship in My Time — Sir Robert Falconer
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EDITORS' NOTES

The QUARTERLY's new cover was procured by the Advisory Board, which appointed a committee headed by Professor Barker Fairley. The design was made by Mr. Thoreau Macdonald, to whom the grateful acknowledgments of the QUARTERLY are due.

The Editors also wish to announce that a memorial article on the work of the late George Sidney Brett will appear in the July issue of the QUARTERLY.

THE FUTURE OF UNITY IN CANADA: TWO VIEWS

The Quarterly *has asked two distinguished Canadian editors to discuss a problem vital to the future of Canada. M. Edmond Turcotte, editor of* Le Canada, *canvasses from the point of view of a French-speaking Canadian the difficulties and possibilities of future unity between the two races. Mr. B. K. Sandwell, editor of* Saturday Night, *discusses the same problem from the point of view of an English-speaking Canadian. Each writer has been given an opportunity to comment briefly on the views expressed by the other.*

I. AS SEEN BY A FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIAN

Edmond Turcotte

UNITY in the narrow sense of the word is probably a forlorn hope for Canada. By unity is meant oneness, selfsameness, identity of national character and individuality. The day is long past when such a realization was conceivable. The source of the present dual stream in the Canadian nation is to be found as far back in our history as the Quebec Act of 1774, which granted recognition of French civil law and custom to the French colonists of Canada owing allegiance to the British Crown since the Treaty of Paris of 1763.

The recognition of French civil law in 1774 was, in addition to the guarantees of free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion and the maintenance of the feudal privileges and system, stipulated in the Act of Capitulation signed at Montreal by Amherst and Vaudreuil on September 8, 1760, and reiterated, so far as the guarantees of free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion are concerned, in the Treaty of 1763. Bearing in mind the still low state of political and religious tolerance in the Western Europe and the America of the late eighteenth century, it is fair to assume that the restoration of French civil law provided for in the Act sponsored in London in 1774 by the then Prime Minister, Lord North, and the Colonial Secretary, Lord Dartmouth, sprang rather less from any sense of generosity in these statesmen than from motives of high political expediency. Those were days of incipient rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies. British statesmanship thought that British communications and strategic bases in North America could be secured against the undertakings of the republican rebels by ensuring, for a price, the loyalty of a traditionally monarchic people whose language and faith differed from that of the surrounding colonies. The price paid by the Crown in its struggle against the republican insurgents of the Thirteen Colonies was the Quebec Act of 1774, which contributed so largely to preserve for future generations the national characteristics of the early colonists of Canada.

Thus British colonial policy in the late eighteenth century unwittingly germinated a nation of dual character in the Canada of the twentieth. For better or for worse, we are now a nation where unity in the narrow sense of national singleness is impossible. That is not to say that a Canadian national life is an impossible aspiration. But the basis for a common life will have to be sought elsewhere than in the law of unity. It will have to be sought in the principle of solidarity.

The distinction between unity and solidarity is not mere word-splitting. Rightly or wrongly—and I think rightly—unity to a French-Canadian ear spells absorption and eventual oblivion. As I said in the beginning, the time for that is long past. Once a child has grown to manhood, it is too late to modify radically his view of the part he is to play in the general scheme of things.

Solidarity, however, has a very different meaning. Solidarity implies a union of responsibilities for the safeguarding or the developing of common interests, and this in turn may lead to the sharing of a common national ideal, as exemplified, for instance, in the deep-rooted national consciousness and patriotism of the Swiss. Deep religious and linguistic cleavages running criss-cross over the map of Switzerland are no bar to the existence of the Swiss nation as a closely-knit people with national characteristics easily distinguishable from those of other peoples of surrounding European countries. Seven out of ten Swiss speak German, but the wave of pan-Germanic appeal to blood, race, and Kultur, beats helplessly against the Alps. The rest of the Swiss speak French or Italian—mostly French—but to no one of them does the thought ever occur that they are bound by sentiment, language, or culture, to the political life of France or Italy.

In Canada, however, the present war has revealed among a majority of Canadians of British origin a very definite survival of the bond of kith and kin over the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, and a willingness to sacrifice life and wealth on the altar of kinship. Likewise do we perceive in certain sections of French-speaking Canada a spiritual kinship with Vichy France which is an unconscious survival of the ties of blood and memory with Frenchmen of pre-Revolutionary France—although even in the case of those particular French Canadians, the bond of kinship with France is very much weaker than that of British Canadians with Britain, probably because physical separation has run a much longer course.

Are we a nation? The candid truth is that we are not—not yet. Certainly not by ordinary standards of nationhood. And yet there is evident everywhere in Canada a state of yearning, a bursting desire to reach nationhood, a growing perception of Canada's significance to the men who inhabit it, an almost pathetic aspiration to assert one's personality among the other nations of the world. Therein lies the hope that Canadians will eventually find the true bases of nationhood. For where there is a will there is a way. Indeed, the will to reach nationhood is itself the main-

spring of the fervent search for "unity" which has been one of the most gratifying features of the past decade in Canada, a search which these war years have particularly intensified.

It is thought by some that the war has created an unbridgeable chasm between the two main ethnic and cultural elements of the Canadian population, and that deterioration has now reached a hopeless stage. Some even toy with the idea of abandoning the experiment of Confederation and agreeing to a more or less friendly parting of the ways. The feeling at bottom of that extreme course is one of bitterness. It is defeatism born of incomprehension. And yet there is nothing that intelligent perseverance could not solve, even in the field of sentiment, ignorance, and prejudice.

There is a French dictum, "Comprendre c'est pardonner": To understand is to forgive. There is nothing to forgive of conscious guilt in the behaviour of Canadians toward one another. But there is much that requires understanding before we can witness the creation of a spiritual climate where the great anonymous masses of the Canadian people—and not only a select few among the intellectual *élite* and men of goodwill—can uninhibitedly and automatically react before all national and international problems as only truly unhyphenated Canadians can and should.

The use of the word "unhyphenated" with reference to Canadians is in itself revelatory of a condition. Canadians of British descent never refer to themselves as "English Canadians," "Scotch Canadians," or "Irish Canadians," except in a purely incidental way. But Canadians of French descent are always referred to as "French Canadians" by their fellow Canadians of other origin. Indeed, the designation of "Canadien français" is now more widely used, especially among the literate classes of French-speaking Canadians themselves, than the earlier "Canadien" which is still the common parlance of simple folk.

Originally, the French colonists in Canada knew themselves only as "Canadiens," and there is evidence that this simple designation remained in sole use for at least two or three generations after the cession of New France to the British Crown. When was the designation of "Canadien français" introduced? How did it come about? I do not know and I doubt whether anyone has ever given the matter much thought. And yet this seemingly insignificant little question in semantics may have a bearing on the great problem of Canadian nationhood today, because it may yield the explanation of certain mental attitudes of the present generation of Canadians of British and French origin toward one another. Indeed, the parallel thought occurs that Canadians of British origin have not always referred to themselves as "Canadians" pure and simple. They certainly did not do so in the early days. When did they begin to do so? Can anyone answer that question?

A century ago, Canada was the home of "les Canadiens" and "les Anglais." Today we have "Canadians" and "French Canadians" living side by side. This is a complete shift of relative positions, a half-swing of

the circle. What is the meaning of this? Let us look into the matter. It may lead to considerations having very pertinent bearing on the great Canadian problem of today, the problem of nationhood.

When the immense possessions of the French absolutist monarchy in North America were ceded to the British sovereign upon termination of the Seven Years' War in Europe and America, the French colonists who remained on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and who at that early date were already known to themselves and to others as "Canadiens," belonged to an agrarian and semi-feudal economy which was in striking contrast to the independent and non-conformist farming communities of New England, especially so to the seafaring merchants and traders of the British Isles.

As I have suggested in the beginning, the cultural identity of this strategically located handful of sixty thousand settlers was preserved as an instrument of British colonial policy in the struggle between the Crown and the Continental Congress of the Thirteen Colonies. Shortly after that struggle was over, there broke out in Europe a great political revolution of which France was both the focus and the great spiritual mover. The French Revolution initiated a long period of upheaval which did not subside, as some think, with Bonaparte's *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, but continued to reshape the world until as late a day as 1830 and 1848. Throughout most of that period, and particularly in the early stages of the outbreak, the naval, financial, and military power of conservative England instigated and sustained the struggle of dying absolutist monarchies against the rising democratic world-forces embodied in the French Revolution. A large number of the French nobility found refuge and encouragement in London, where they conspired against republican France, and many *émigrés*, particularly among the clergy, found their way to the banks of the St. Lawrence, where survived under the protection of the British Crown a miniature of the *ancien régime* of France.

When the Duke of Wellington and Blücher defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, a *Te Deum* was sung at Quebec. Thus, only fifty-six years after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, "les Canadiens" were offering thanks to the Almighty for a victory of the English over the French—a victory which in the mind of the spiritual "Canadien" leadership of the day was not so much a triumph of the English over the French as a manifest intervention of God on the side of legitimate monarchy against the revolutionary upstart Napoleon.

The historical sequence of British colonial policy in America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and British counter-revolutionary policy in Europe toward the end of that century and in the early part of the nineteenth has had the effective result for the small band of "Canadien" settlers on the banks of the St. Lawrence of sheltering them for at least two generations against the shackle-breaking earthquake of the French Revolution. And after that period of missed opportunities had elapsed, it

had become too late for the "Canadiens" to join fully in the stream of nineteenth-century thought. A certain philosophy of life had become deeply intrenched among them meanwhile, and it was next to impossible to root it out—inasmuch as the "Canadien" conservative rulers and their allies, the English overlords, soon discovered that they had a common interest in preserving the existing shape of things, as they did when they joined hands against the democratic upsurge of 1837 and 1838.

England has had Cromwell. France has had the Revolution. French Canadians of today have had neither. And this historical fact of momentous significance for an understanding of the Canadian problem of today seems to have escaped the notice of historians and the attention of contemporary statesmanship.

Some will ask: "What has the French Revolution got to do with the problem of Canadian unity?" meaning thereby the problem of Canadian nationhood. The answer is: "Almost everything."

Let us unfold the answer. French Canadians are now compelled to struggle for survival in a complex world for which they are ill-fitted because they have not undergone the requisite spiritual transformation. It is no fault of theirs. They are victim, as I have attempted to show, of historical circumstance. But their tragic fate is there nevertheless, and it weighs constantly on every event of nation-wide import in Canada.

To illustrate the point, let us take the mooted question of French Canada's intellectual position toward the war. Other Canadians are either puzzled, nettled, disgusted, or angered by that position, according to their own understanding of what is involved in the second World War—an understanding which, by the way, may have much less to do with devotion to Canadian nationhood or anti-Fascist ideology than one is led to believe. One strongly suspects that the burden of that understanding is made of the web of kith and kin. For other Canadians of non-British origin, the willingness to fight and die at the side of indomitable Britain in the dark days of 1940 and onward had to spring either from a deep intellectual insight into the material interests involved or from a passionate love of the principles which the French Revolution gave mankind: "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité." Even the great American democracy south of the Canadian border did not have the insight or the devotion to go to Armageddon in 1939 or 1940. How then could the "Canadiens" be expected to have much warlike fervour?

The immense majority of Frenchmen who were free to do so, especially the little people of France, rallied to the standards of De Gaulle in 1940. Those were the days when the intellectual and spiritual leadership of French Canada thought of Pétain as the saviour of France! Why the difference? The answer is simple: *the great liberating wave of the French Revolution has by-passed French Canada.* Indeed, bearing in mind the history and background of the "Canadiens," their very fair response to the call of arms—much better than they are given credit for by the uninformed or the preju-

diced—should evoke admiration instead of wryness. It is not what a man does that counts, it is what he has to overcome to do it.

Among the things that the French Canadian has to overcome besides his pre-revolutionary background, is the knowledge of a social and economic inferiority which is made ever-present to him by the very bigness of the industrial machine using him as a cog. Being a cog is not a stimulating role for anyone, but being a "foreign" cog is more stupefying still. And the fact is that the big machine has to him the fearsome appearance of an English-speaking monster, which makes it only more terrifying. The result is a state of fatalism leading to sullen passivity, a condition which is not conducive to hearty co-operation and healthy nationhood.

The latter consideration suggests a plausible reply to the question asked earlier: "When did the original Canadiens become merely hyphenated Canadians to everybody, including themselves?" This condition of second-class citizenship came, I suspect, as a concomitant of the great burst of capitalist economy in the nineteenth century, which was bound to swamp a small agrarian people in the north-east corner of North America, with a semi-feudal economy and an *ancien régime* education. Even today, ransom is being paid for the abolition of the seigneurial tenure, and education remains mostly independent of secular control. Thus the great world stream of capitalist expansion in the nineteenth century, which found expression in the English speech in America, slowly pushed aside in the Canadian backwash the original settlers whose idiom was French, and who, being so picturesquely different from the rest of the continent, became gradually known as the "French Canadians"—*a proletarian people* (not to be confused with a people of proletarians).

Some will say: "The French Canadian has but himself to blame. Let him speak English. Let him fit himself for higher posts in the industrial world. Let him change his background. Indeed, let him adopt our ways and become like us." That is begging the question. The essential question is that of a people's right—as it is each man's right—to bring to fruition all the potentialities that are in him without having to cripple his personality, indeed his very soul, in the process. Monopoly capitalism, a development we are fast approaching in Canada, is all facts and figures. It has no soul.

Thus the Canadian problem is seen as being essentially *a problem in democracy*, that is to say a problem in the art of harmonious living among men of varying degrees of culture, ability, and accomplishments, having inherited a common land and a common birthright. The French in Canada remain endowed with a native finesse which has survived the dulling effect of several generations of pioneering in a cold climate, and there are on every hand today manifestations of budding talent which may soon come to flower in all the arts, from the most eccentric surrealist painting of Paris

down to the more humble fireside handicrafts. When the soul of French Canada is free, it may yet astound prosaic America.

Fortunately for Canada, enough of British temperament and stolid virtues survive in the land—not enough to my liking, but the catalytic influence of America is so tremendous!—to protect English-speaking Canadians against the unseemly extremes of American civilization. Together, English and French Canadians can build a nation offering to their neighbours to the south the object-lesson of a modern industrial state combining the merits of Anglo-Saxon character, pragmatism, organizational ability, and community spirit, with the revived art of living and charm of slower-paced, more leisurely France—a nation able to follow a middle course in contrast to the headlong flight of the volatile Americans toward a goal they themselves are unable to define.

The first need in Canada is to solve the problem of democracy—that is for all Canadians to carry the evolutionary process of democracy to its logical conclusion. Contrary to a prevailing myth, Canada is not yet an absolute democracy. Indeed, no country is. Democracy is not a form of government, it is a political philosophy. As such, it is a ferment constantly at work and it is subject to evolution with the unfolding of history. In Canada, it must take the shape, after this war, of a more direct participation by all Canadians of all classes—including the French-speaking third—in the operation and benefits of national production *without sacrifice of the language and culture which are the essence of the personality and dignity of the French third.*

How this condition of equity can be brought about is a matter for pragmatic study. It will not be easy to find a solution, inasmuch as the problem is inseparable from the great social revolution we are now witnessing everywhere. However it may be, the bond of solidarity required to unite all Canadians in a common responsibility for the developing of common interests will have been created only when the less favoured French third have acquired the factual conviction that they have a *direct* stake in the increase of national wealth from ocean to ocean through the democratic development of mines, forests, land, waterfalls, shipping, transport, and monopoly industry.

In the slow process of democratization of Canadian life, the French Canadians themselves, rubbing shoulders everywhere with their fellow Canadians, will be re-educated in the ways of intellectual freedom, thus overcoming their historic handicap by a rapid quickening of the pace of evolution from pre-revolutionary France to modern social and secular democracy. Indeed, English Canadians will themselves benefit in this slow process of education, for they too are in need of a revitalization of their democracy—and the resultant Canadian dual nationhood will preserve for them, against the otherwise irresistible vulgarity and tawdriness of America, the spiritual heritage they hold more dear than life itself.

REJOINDER BY B. K. SANDWELL

There are, I suppose, English-speaking people in Canada whose idea of national "unity" is that one of the two cultures of the nation should obliterate the other. I do not think that that is a necessary meaning of the term, and it is certainly not the meaning with which I myself use it. But so long as we define our terms clearly it does not greatly matter what words we use, and if Mr. Turcotte prefers "solidarity" I am perfectly satisfied; his definition of it is exactly what I mean by "unity."

That Canada is committed to a duality of culture is admitted, I should think, by all intelligent students of history. But I wish Mr. Turcotte, along with so many of his fellows, would not talk as if French Canada had no part in the process by which Canada was thus committed—as if the French language and Roman Catholicism were imposed on the French Canadians against their will—, would not assign all his active verbs to the British and their "policy" and all his passive ones to the "Canadiens." Certainly the price paid by the Crown for Canadian loyalty in 1776 was the Quebec Act of 1774; but it was a price paid to, and accepted by, Quebec, and there was an open market and a rival bidder, and it was Quebec that chose. Mr. Turcotte sounds a little as if he regretted the choice.

He sounds also as if he regretted the fact that French Canada was sheltered from the French Revolution, and he quite definitely ascribes the whole responsibility for that to the British. "England has had Cromwell. France has had the Revolution. French Canadians of today have had neither." That is true, but they could not have had either, and it is wildly improbable that they could have had anything resembling either, not because they were under the British, but because they were French Canadians, a colony, settlement, plantation, call it what you will, established and living its own life in North America three thousand miles away from France long before the French Revolution took place. It was not British policy, it was geography, that kept French Canada monarchist and conservative when Paris was abolishing God and the calendar and executing aristocrats by the tumbril-load. "The great liberating wave of the French Revolution" would in any event never have splashed up the St. Lawrence, not because the adjacent counties were under the British flag, but because their inhabitants had no aristocrats, no rapacious landlords, no burdensome tax-collectors against whom to revolt, and because they did have an infinite frontier to afford occupation to those of them who particularly loved freedom and adventure. They are, as a result, today a bit eighteenth-century. So, I suggest, are a good many of the Latin-American Republics, for the same reason. It is possible for a French Canadian to deplore their eighteenth-century-ness, and Mr. Turcotte has a right to do so, for he is doing all that he can to combat and modernize it; but he will get along far better at that job if he will recognize the true cause of what he combats.

With the rest of his contentions I am so completely in agreement that I can only hope that these reservations do not sound churlish. They are

not so intended. I am convinced that if French Canadians would only think more of their power and less of their helplessness we should all get along much better together. The one great obstacle to the liberalizing of French Canada is the conviction of so many liberally-inclined French Canadians that it is no use working at it because "the 'Canadien' conservative rulers and their allies, the English overlords" (now of course the English-speaking majority in Canada) still have "a common interest in preserving the existing shape of things" in French Canada.

II. AS SEEN BY AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIAN

B. K. Sandwell

THE parallel between the position of Southern (and Catholic) Ireland in the United Kingdom before the Treaty, and the position of French (and Catholic) Quebec in the Dominion of Canada and in the political structures which preceded the Dominion, is sufficiently close to suggest the drawing of many interesting conclusions, but also sufficiently incomplete to make it necessary to scrutinize all such conclusions very carefully.

Both countries were cases of a Catholic society which in the eighteenth century was dispossessed of almost all political power by the tests, oaths of allegiance, and other devices for restricting the rights of citizenship to Protestants; so long as these continued in force the benefits of such democratic institutions as existed were confined to Protestants. As the principle of Catholic Emancipation made headway—and it did so in Canada even earlier than in the United Kingdom—it extended the benefits of democracy more and more to the French Canadians as to the Irish; but in both cases always with the safeguard for Protestantism, that the effective political unit to be operated by the democracy must be one in which the French and the Irish in the respective cases would be in a minority. This situation was terminated in the case of the Irish by the establishment of the Irish Free State, to develop later into the completely sovereign nation of Eire with its own control over the ultimate powers of peace and war. In the case of the French Canadians it still exists.

That the situation of this minority led in Ireland to the Easter Rebellion and the Treaty, and in Canada has caused no serious disturbance since 1837 (and that a very limited one both in scope and in objectives), is due mainly to a marked difference in the geopolitics of the two countries. Ireland was an old and (for its economic structure) over-populated country in which government by a section of the population was bound to lead to a land problem of the most acute kind. Canada was a new and under-populated country in which there could be no land problem because there was a super-abundance of land. This condition has of course long since come to an end so far as the French Province of Quebec is concerned, but

it was not an alien landlordism that brought it to an end, but the enormous multiplication of the French-Canadian population itself; and the one available remedy of emigration has been far less painful to the French Canadians than to the Irish (though not entirely painless) because it entailed movement only to the other provinces of Canada, involving no change of national government, or to the adjacent parts of the United States, from which the return to the homeland was so easy that no sense of "exile" was possible.

In French Canada as in Catholic Ireland the sense of minority helplessness has tended to encourage the growth of a somewhat exclusive, ingrowing, highly nationalistic culture, maintained in strong and conscious opposition to the majority culture of the rest of the political unit. It is this culture, far more than any natural difference of racial character in the individual, which has fostered the cleavage between Irishman and English or Scottish citizen of Great Britain, and between French Canadian and Canadian of the dominant North American type. Separated from this special culture and the forces and institutions which maintain it (and which are largely associated with the Catholic religion), both the Irishman and the French Canadian are readily absorbed into the general mass of the population; but in Eire and in Quebec they preserve a strongly differentiated character and a very special political attitude.

On the other hand, in both Protestant Great Britain and Protestant Canada there has always been a profound insensitiveness towards, or perhaps rather a profound unawareness of, the claims and aspirations of this special minority culture, a failure to realize that the Irishman and the French Canadian, at any rate when enclosed within their respective cultures, are a quite different kind of human being from the Englishman and Scotsman and from the English-speaking Canadian, and are not likely to be always satisfied with the policies imposed upon them by majorities made up of the people from whom they are different. The Englishman and the English-speaking Canadian are apt to feel that the political claims of a minority, however compact and solid and self-conscious, ought to be fully satisfied by a one-man-one-vote arrangement even though, in matters on which there is a divergence between the compact minority and the majority, that arrangement means that the minority will always be outvoted. (People who have never been in a compact and self-conscious minority always exaggerate the merits of the one-man-one-vote principle.) In Canada there has been more excuse for this attitude on the part of the majority, because under the divided sovereignty system the French minority is actually provided with a local political unit in which it has majority powers as regards many of the things about which it is most concerned, such as education, language, religion, and civil rights; the Irishman between the Union and the Treaty had no such safeguard.

The present difficulty in Canada stems largely from the fact that the Quebec French, a minority in Canada as a whole, are beginning to feel that

there are other spheres of political action in which they would like to be free from the control of the non-French majority, in addition to those covered by the sovereign powers of the Province of Quebec. There has been in the last fifty years an immense increase in the powers exercised over the citizen by the state, and in Canada this increase has accrued almost entirely to the *national* government rather than to the provincial. The increase is due in the main to two causes and operates in two fields, the military and the economic.

The nature of modern war compels even the most liberal of states to exercise a compulsive power over the individual of fighting age (and indeed of a much wider range of age in the matter of employment) which would never have been dreamed of in the nineteenth century. And the nature of modern industry, highly specialized and concentrated in a few advantageous localities, compels even the most laissez-faire of states to exercise a regulatory power over business which would have been considered detestable in the nineteenth century, and to exercise it uniformly over the widest possible area, so that in a divided-sovereignty state the local authority has more and more to bow to the central authority with its control of customs, banking, and finance.

In the nineteenth century the French Canadian could assure himself with reasonable confidence that whatever disabilities he might have to put up with as a result of his minority position, at least he would never be compelled to shoulder a musket at the bidding of the majority—or of a sovereign power outside of Canada altogether, being located in Westminster. True, there was no guarantee to that effect in the constitution; but the whole mass of opinion in the country and indeed in the British Empire was solidly on the side of the principle of voluntary military service, and there seemed to be no prospect of its changing. (Great Britain had had for generations a mild form of compulsion for the navy, but it applied only to a small class of the citizenry, and Canada had neither a navy nor the slightest expectation of ever having one.) It is no exaggeration to say that the right to abstain from military service was, from the very beginning of British rule in Canada, one of the privileges which the French Canadian regarded as both the most secure and the most valuable of his benefits derived from being under a liberal if alien monarchy. It was a particularly necessary privilege, because the wars in which Canada was to be expected to get mixed up were obviously pretty sure to be "Empire" wars, not Canadian wars, and the right to abstain both from personal service and even from any substantial financial contribution through the taxes was the only guarantee that French Canadians would not be called on to support an Empire in which they had no share of control and only a minimum of interest.

The blow to this confidence, when the exhausting nature of the first war with Germany caused a general conscription measure to be enacted in its closing year, upset the whole fabric of the French Canadian's con-

ception of his position in the country, and he has never ceased to record a unanimous protest against the principle thus introduced. It must be recalled in this connection that the United Kingdom of 1914-18, fully aware of the different feelings about the war entertained by the Irish from those entertained by the other parts of the Kingdom, never imposed conscription in Ireland, a circumstance which may perhaps be regarded as one of the first signs of a recognition that the effective sovereignty of the Kingdom over that island had really ceased to exist. The drawing of such a distinction was obviously much easier in the case where the exempted area was an island than it would be for a province largely bounded by artificial lines separating it from other provinces and a neighbouring nation in both of which conscription was in force. In any event the idea of exemption for Quebec does not seem to have been seriously considered either by the enacters of conscription in 1917 nor by the advocates of overseas conscription in the present war; and it is quite probable that the setting up of such an exemption would be an admission (as it proved to be in Ireland) that the political unity of the conscripted and unconscripted areas was a fiction which must ultimately be abandoned.

But differences as to military service are not the sole cause of the present difficulty between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The vast growth of the economic power of the central authority is also an important factor. The French Canadians are not, like a considerable element among the older English-speaking Canadians, fundamentally opposed to the control of economic life by a political, non-economic authority. But they are anxious that the authority which does the controlling should not be an essentially secular and English-speaking one. If there are to be controls they desire French and Catholic ideas to be the basis of them. This is the reason for their widespread and lively interest at the present time in the schemes of the Corporatists, who hope to see the powers of the state over industry operated by a state in which Catholic electors are in the majority and Catholic ideas of the relation between employer and employee are bound to rule. In a laissez-faire system it is obviously of little importance whether the non-interfering state is Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, or completely secular; in a state-intervention or state-operation system the character and principles of the state are of prime importance. The French Canadian therefore desires the Province of Quebec to do the controlling for Quebec, and is violently opposed to any constitutional amendments which would confer upon the national government some of the powers now available to the province under the property and civil rights clause.

But an effective control of economic life seems hardly possible for an authority which possesses no powers over the passage of goods, credits, services, and human beings across its borders, and all these powers belong solely to the national authority. The successful operation of a Corporatist system would seem, therefore, to be possible only to a political unit of a national rather than provincial character. On the other hand, the success-

ful operation of a Socialist system would seem to be possible only to an equally national authority, and one possessing a good measure of the powers relating to property and civil rights which now belong to the provinces. Quebec is determined not to part with any of these powers in favour of a Dominion authority which might at some future time become heavily interventionist in the economic sphere or even completely state socialist, and which would operate its interventions or its state enterprises in a Protestant or secular manner. There are here the makings of a grave constitutional conflict between Quebec and the Dominion, in which, however, Quebec would have considerable support from elements in other provinces which regard the present division of powers as calculated to discourage any serious development of either interventionism or socialism in the country generally.

While the difference of feeling on the subject of military service is at the moment the more acute, it is obvious that it might die down or entirely disappear in the event of the establishment of a reasonably secure system of world peace. It is going to be difficult, however, to establish in the French-Canadian mind any solid confidence in such a system because of the important share in it which will presumably have to be accorded to Russia. The Quebec distrust of Russia is due to the revolutionary and therefore at first very anti-religious character of the régime in that country, but it is conceivable that this may be mitigated in time by the improved relations now developing between the Kremlin and the Greek Orthodox Church. At any rate it may be said that the question of military service is likely to be acute in Canada only in an era of grave international instability.

The difference of feeling on the subject of state control of economic life may be far more serious and permanent. It is almost impossible to hope that the French Canadian will ever reconcile himself to any large degree of intervention in his economic life by a government of the kind believed in by the great majority of the people of North America—entirely secular in its motives and methods, aiming wholly at material ends, and leaving the spiritual side of human nature to be looked after by the "private enterprise" of the various religious bodies. There is an increasing tendency on the part of the French Canadian in Quebec to regard his province as a "Catholic state" rather than a secular one, a tendency which has been symbolized in recent years by the affixing of a crucifix over the Speaker's chair in both Houses of the Quebec Legislature. There has been also an increasing tendency to look to the economic experiments of Portugal and (before the war) Italy, in both of which a Catholic and far from democratic state undertook a large measure of control of economic life, as affording the best available guide for Quebec to follow.

Another circumstance which causes difficulty between Quebec and the rest of Canada is the fact that the French Canadian, as is freely admitted by his own writers, has never been deeply attached to democracy as a political principle. He has remained completely untouched by any British,

French, or American Revolution. In his own Rebellion of 1837 he made some use of the slogans of democracy, but this was more for the purpose of having a ground on which to argue that the French-Canadian majority should have French-Canadian rulers than because of any faith in the freely developed opinions of the individuals of that majority. (It was similarly in the name of democracy that the people of the Southern States demanded a representation at Washington proportional to their entire population including slaves, but it was not with any idea that the slaves should vote for that representation.)

This lack of interest in democracy makes the French-Canadian majority in Quebec somewhat tolerant of repressive measures concerning freedom of speech, a fact which may at times influence the attitude of their elected representatives not only at Quebec but also at Ottawa, and which therefore becomes a matter of some concern to the rest of Canada. The Communist party, for example, is at present entirely lawful in the Dominion, but the propagation of its ideas in Quebec is hampered by the readiness of the majority to break up its meetings by force and the unwillingness of the provincial authorities to protect it; and a recent Quebec government strained the provincial powers over property in order to suppress the party, by enacting that any building used for its propaganda should be padlocked for such time as the Attorney General should decide. It is not a question of whether these ideas of the Quebec majority are right or wrong; there is no revelation from God that democracy is the only proper form of government, for Canada or any other country. It is a question of whether these ideas are compatible with the constitutional principles upon which the Canadian system of government is based, and of whether they do not cause the votes of nearly one-third of the members of the Dominion Parliament to be somewhat different from, and much more unanimous than, what they would be if those constitutional principles were effective in Quebec.

As a matter of practical fact the unanimity of the Quebec delegation at Ottawa would in any event be, and almost always has been, so nearly complete on all subjects concerning the Quebec culture and way of life that the effects of this deficiency of democracy are probably not serious. And irritating as it no doubt is to the non-French Canadian, this unanimity is natural and inevitable, and when it is broken it is because of a difference as to the means which should be employed to attain a given end, and not as to the end itself. (In 1911 there was a difference as to whether imperialism could best be combatted by opposing Sir Wilfrid Laurier or by supporting him; there was none as to whether imperialism should be combatted.)

This solidarity of the French Canadians of Quebec is often attributed by outsiders to an artificial isolation from all non-French-Canadian influences, and there is undoubtedly an element in the group which works to keep it as isolated as possible, a task rendered the easier by the protective barrier of language. But the importance of any deliberate policy in this matter may be much exaggerated. The real basis of the solidarity is the

sense of frustration, the feeling on the part of the group that it is being disposed of without its own will being taken into account—a feeling which has been greatly intensified since the impact of Dominion policies upon the group life became more direct and extensive. The French Canadian has it very much in his mind that he has never had an effective voice in any of the successive changes by which he has become, since the Conquest, first a disfranchised majority in a colony under military occupation, and then an enfranchised minority in a series of larger and larger political units in which the majority was always of a different race and a different culture. He dreams—and more than ever since the independence of Eire—of the possible formation of an independent French political unit uncontrolled by the alien majority which swamps his vote at Ottawa. (That he very frequently exercises a deciding power over that majority when it is divided among itself escapes his attention, though not that of the members of the majority.) But his aspirations in this direction are vague and indefinite, partly because he knows that the economic position of Quebec without the hinterland of Ontario and the West to support it would be precarious, and partly because he feels that to withdraw from Confederation would be deserting his fellow French Canadians of the Dispersal in the other provinces; and there is also hope that his unrivalled birth-rate may in time give him majority place even in the Dominion as a whole.

His unrivalled birth-rate—there perhaps is the most essential element in the whole difficulty, the root cause of the disagreement between the two cultures. For the French-Canadian culture still makes a virtue, nay a duty, of large families, and the American-Canadian culture has come to make a virtue of small ones. And the English-speaking Canadian is afraid of the French Canadian's large families, and masks his fear under the guise of contempt, assuring himself that large families are somehow indecent and indicative of a low level of civilization. Again it is no part of the task of an article such as this to inquire which of the two views is "right," and a judicial mind might well maintain that it would be a good thing if the two birth-rates came a good deal nearer to one-another, each moving half-way. But there is no reconciling the two attitudes. The North American ethos, which is that of English-speaking Canada, is one of extreme individualism stemming from Rousseau and regarding marriage mainly as a means of promoting the self-fulfilment of each of the two individuals primarily concerned. It has adopted late marriage, infrequent childbearing, easy divorce, and the economic independence of women as essential parts of its plan of human life. The French-Canadian ethos subordinates the individual to the race, reprobates contraception and all celibacy except that of the religious orders, makes the family the basis of society, and regards Rousseau as the source of most of the ills of the modern age.

For a body of people to constitute a spiritually unified nation it would seem to be necessary that all of them should be willing to be governed, in the next generation or a generation after that, by a majority composed of

whatever elements in the nation shall have contributed most largely by bearing and bringing up children. It is unlikely that a citizen of Great Britain concerns himself much about whether the Scots or the English are likely to show the greater rate of increase and to be the dominant element in the population fifty years from now. Each element regards the other as a perfectly satisfactory part of the British citizenry. But if you tell an English-speaking Canadian that fifty years hence Canada will be peopled by a majority of French Canadians he will immediately declare something must be done to stop it, and perhaps even add that if it is not stopped he will emigrate to the United States where there is no danger of such a terrible thing happening. And while this state of mind exists it is very difficult to think of English Canadian and French Canadian as joining hands for the upbuilding of a common nation.

REJOINDER BY EDMOND TURCOTTE

With the generalizations of Mr. Sandwell, I am in agreement. I would only dissent from his interpretation of French-Canadian psychology and behaviour and from his view that religion plays an important role in the attitude of the average French Canadian toward problems of economy. I note incidentally that Mr. Sandwell's whole approach to the problem of the future unity of Canada is focussed on French Canada alone, as though the Canadian problem lay solely there. If there were no other than French Canadians in Canada, there would be no problem. The problem of unity is created by the presence of other Canadians. The action among Canadians is reciprocal and the solution has to be a mutual one, as I have tried to show in my conclusion.

Mr. Sandwell points to "the vast growth of the economic power of the central authority" as an "important factor" in the "present difficulty between Quebec and the rest of Canada." He adds that, unlike a considerable element among the older English-speaking Canadians, the French Canadians "are not fundamentally opposed to the control of economic life by a political, non-economic authority. But they are anxious that the authority which does the controlling should not be an essentially secular and English-speaking one. If there are to be controls, they desire French and Catholic ideas to be the basis of them."

This interpretation is only half correct. Speaking of the Catholic factor in the stand of French Canadians generally on temporal questions, Mr. Sandwell does not distinguish the social from the economic realm. As faithful Catholics, French Canadians naturally follow Church discipline in all the social fields where the individual and the family meet the State (such as hospitals, schools, orphanages, old-age homes, and all welfare institutions generally). Nothing secular there—but this is true not only

of French-Canadian Catholics, but of all other Canadian or American Catholics. Wherever Catholic social discipline is absent in the life of Catholics in the United States or Canada, it is not owing to voluntary abandonment on their part but solely to the pressure of an enormous secular majority in the nation.

The economic realm is another story. It is true, as Mr. Sandwell notes, that there is Corporatist indoctrination in French Canada. But it is mostly the rhetoric of a small and pedantic coterie of intellectuals out of touch with the world of practical men and entirely without support in the masses of the people. The nearest attempt to give practical form to Corporatist doctrine has been the launching of "Catholic Syndicates," and those eventually turned out to be nothing but labour unions of the orthodox variety, even to the extent of admitting non-Catholics to membership and altering their name from "Catholic" to "National Syndicates." A few of the leaders of the Bloc Populaire Canadien are imbued with Corporatist theory, but that theory has had nothing to do with what limited success or failure the Bloc has had so far. The Bloc rank and file is not a Corporatist phenomenon. It is an element in the Canadian problem in democracy as I have tried to present it.

French Canada is not a monolith. Opinion is divided there as elsewhere. But it is unquestionably true that the vast majority of French Canadians see no connection between their religious creed and economic theory *as distinct from social theory*. An example in point is the socialization of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company last spring. The ludicrous idea that this was a splendid occasion to introduce in the management of the new Hydro-Quebec "Catholic ideas of the relation between employer and employee," as Mr. Sandwell puts it, never occurred to anyone in French Canada.

French Canadians have no idea of mixing religion with economics through the exercise of political instruments. Their only fear is that the eventual centralization of political power over national economy in Ottawa would destroy their French cultural heritage or at least arrest its development, because any centralized power in Canada is inevitably English-speaking. What French Canadians fail to see is that economic power in Canada has already become centralized in a few large and privately-owned "English-speaking" units and that this centralized power is much less responsive to their needs and their control than even a centralized state could ever be. So I reiterate my conclusion that Canadian unity is essentially a problem in social democracy.

One last word, and that about birth-rates. The progressive urbanization of French Canadians is slowly decreasing their birth-rate, their moral code notwithstanding. It is a sorry development. Only superficial social thinkers see a logical relation between a high birth-rate and "a low level of civilization." If this logic were sound, it would be a most damning indictment of our so-called "civilization." Even if one rejects the moral canons

of the Catholic Church with regard to marriage, there remains the law of life for all animate beings from the lowest amoeba to the highest creature on the planet—Man. Even atheists must believe in biology. It is a law of nature to reproduce one's kind and to find happiness in one's offspring. Any human society upholding a contrary philosophy, as somehow betokening a sort of superiority in the individual, is gravely undermined. Such a society would not be made for man, but rather man for that society. There seems to be a widely-shared opinion in Canada that immigration is for some unexplained reason more "civilized" than natural growth. It is time that Canadians came back to the fundamentals of human life, indeed of *all* life.

NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP IN MY TIME*

SIR ROBERT FALCONER

IN 1881, as a lad of fourteen, I reached New York from Trinidad. Among other interesting events of which I have a memory was the excitement due to the arrival from London, a few days before, of the first consignment of copies of the Revised New Testament. It was said to have made a sensation in New York comparable to that made by the issue of the book in London. In the history of the English Bible, its publication was indeed a significant milestone. It was at once attacked on the ground that it was far more than a revision of the Authorized Version, more even than a fresh translation; for it was based upon a new Greek text. It would impair in the minds of religious people—so it was said—the sacred words endeared by long use. Amid the controversy, however, there was this satisfaction, as I well remember hearing my father assure some friends, that no changes in the translation, which was the result of the labours during many years of the greatest British and American New Testament scholars, had vitally affected any doctrine. This very satisfaction was due to a method of scriptural interpretation which has since been utterly changed. Then, the Bible was treated by theologians as a treasury of doctrines. Each verse was held to be verbally inspired, and could be used, often under distortion of its true import, to prove some doctrine the assent to which was deemed vital for soundness in the faith. But after the Revised Version appeared, the previously wide-spread doctrine of plenary inspiration gradually dropped out of sight. If verbal accuracy was essential to guarantee the truth of doctrine, why had the Holy Spirit allowed corruptions in the texts? The revised book made its way very slowly, though surely; for sacred truth, invested with such noble expression as that of the Authorized Version, had through public reading and private meditation so appealed to the heart and mind that any change jarred the sensitively responsive spirit.

Equally important with the new translation was the revision of the Greek text on which it was based. The Authorized Version had been made from the *Textus Receptus* issued in 1550. During the intervening three hundred and thirty years manuscript material had been accumulating, and in the later period scholars, of whom England had supplied some of the greatest, were developing principles of criticism far beyond any known to

*Of Sir Robert Falconer's last series of lectures (delivered at Emmanuel College, Toronto) three have appeared as *The Heart of the New Testament* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1943). The article here printed is derived from the manuscript of the unpublished introductory lecture, which has the additional interest of supplementing *Religion on My Life's Road* (1938). Since the author did not live to prepare it for the press, a good deal of editing has been necessary: the cancelling of a few sentences, the restoration of many passages omitted on the score of time, the revision of an occasional sentence or phrase, and the supplying of a suitable title. [EDITORS' NOTE.]

Erasmus. Of the Committee of Revisers the most influential members in the preparation of a basic Greek text, probably also in the translation, were Dr. Hort and Dr. Westcott. But they were not satisfied with the text adopted by the Revisers, and in the same year as the new version was published, 1881, they issued their own Greek text, together with an introductory volume setting forth their principles of criticism. This text may be said to have been epoch-making, and in England at least it held almost undisputed prestige for more than a generation. Even today, though Codex B, which it followed, is seen to be only the best early revised text, Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament is unsurpassed. As regards the science of Textual Criticism, the year 1881 ends one period and opens another, wherein it was relatively stable for many decades.

In the English-speaking world, the Revisers' Version opened a new epoch for translations. These have been due to first-class scholarship and have had an enormous influence on the religious life of the century. They were made possible by the new light thrown upon the text of the books of the New Testament, and also by the discoveries of papyri, inscriptions, and contemporary literature which have illuminated the language of the original. If the versions of the Bible made during the first centuries carried home the original gospel to peoples in their own tongues, it may also be said that in the translations of this modern age more accurate meanings have opened the Bible anew and given it a fresh appeal to vast numbers of educated people. Translations printed so as to show poetical or other literary forms of the original writings, such as Weymouth's, and far more, those of James Moffatt and certain American scholars, have been of inestimable advantage in making the import of the Bible plainer. And these have been accompanied or followed by translation after translation on both sides of the Atlantic, and by editions of the Bible freed from divisions into the old chapters and verses.

The progress of interpretation is dependent upon the suggestiveness of new ideas, but this in turn is due to the quality of the scholars who originate them or make them fruitful. The history of thought cannot be separated from the thinkers. During the last sixty years the New Testament field, along with that of the Old Testament, has been cultivated by an unusually large number of very able interpreters. There has been far more untrammelled, brilliantly constructive, and learned scholarship than in any former period of the same length. The new age had begun to break shortly before I matriculated. We knew that we were entering it, and it was good to be young, though often the fresh ideas were staggering. As I look back, I do not think that the manifoldness and challenging suggestiveness of relay after relay of theories, put forth with courage, has ceased throughout all these years. But their import has been slow in its unfolding. I am impressed by the way in which disruptive ideas at first only touched the surface of my conventional mind. The years have brought, almost imperceptibly, more or less assimilation of these ideas, so that it is difficult to

compare one's present self with what one was in those days. Once again, however, the meaning of Lessing's aphorism opens up: the search for truth is greater than the attainment of its facts. The facts of scholarship may be settled, but truth by which one lives is far greater than the accumulation of facts. We share in truth's reality as we ever seek for more.

I will touch on the outstanding figures in this field, who have influenced me most, and that by countries: England, Scotland, America, Germany, and France.

First, for those of England. In their island home the British people, unique in their religious and political fortunes, have created a markedly original culture. Separated though they are from the main stream of European life, they are yet a branch of European civilization. But what they draw from Europe they imbue with qualities of their own. The Anglican Church is dominant in England and holds aloof from historic, varied, and influential Nonconformity. In Scotland, Presbyterianism is not a mere derivative from the Calvinism of Geneva. With Lutheran religion and German theology none have close affinities. Anglican theologians look askance on the speculations of continental thinkers, and, less adventurous in their flight, they keep closer to the ground. The conservative virtues of their scholars are consonant with the dignity of their inheritance. Educated in the classics, which from the eighteenth century Englishmen regarded as almost their peculiar possession, they have acquired their learning and envisaged their categories under the guardianship of an ancient national Church, not the least influential section of which is wedded to an intransigent catholic institutionalism. The evangelical faith flowed full for long in narrow creedal channels. Only in the last fifty years has a theology, based equally on ripe religious experience and profound learning, arisen in strength to confront competently the problems of the new scientific age. In the result, the Biblical scholarship of England has become less insular and more comprehensive, while retaining its judicial quality and fundamental piety.

In 1889, when I began my theological training, the Cambridge triumvirate, Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, dominated the scene. Never since have individuals or a group of scholars continued so long to hold authority as did each one of these. Two of them I had the privilege of hearing preach: Lightfoot in Edinburgh, I think in 1886, and Westcott in Westminster Abbey not long afterwards. John Barber Lightfoot left Cambridge in 1879 to become Bishop of Durham, where he died in 1889 at the age of sixty-one. As I remember him, he was not a great preacher. He was stout, bald, his eyes not well set, his utterance thick, and his general appearance disappointing, but we listened to him with something akin to reverence as he preached from the text, "the valley of Achor for a door of hope." His massive scholarship, as shown especially in those of the Pauline Epistles which he edited, and in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, is still of first-rate importance. Apart from the question of the authorship of the Fourth

Gospel, he did not deal with the problems of the Gospels as a whole. At his death *The Times* said of him: "While his personal character carried immense weight, his great position depended still more on the universally recognized fact that his belief in Christian truth and his defence of it were supported by learning as solid and comprehensive as could be found anywhere in Europe, and by a temper not only of the utmost candour but of the highest scientific capacity .... What he was chiefly concerned with was the substance and the life of Christian truth."

His boyhood and college friend, Brooke Foss Westcott, also Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, succeeded Lightfoot as Bishop of Durham, where he died in 1901 at the age of seventy-six. His intellectual and moral enthusiasm and his saintly, loving character gave him wide influence. Sympathetic to the views of Frederick Denison Maurice, he applied the gospel to social questions. Four of his sons became missionaries in the East. My memory of him is of a figure withdrawn beneath the canopy of the pulpit in the Abbey, a gentle face crowned with white hair, but the discourse though easily heard I have utterly forgotten. Unlike Lightfoot, he was not a clear writer and was mystical in thought and subtle in argument. It was a threadbare quip, when the fog lay thick near Westminster, that the windows of the Canon's study had been thrown open. Out of his many works, those on the Gospel and Epistles of John and on Hebrews have long stood out more for their mystical insight than for their acute criticism.

The third, F. J. A. Hort, who died in 1892, was the most profound and original scholar. Under the influence of Arnold and Tait, his headmasters at Rugby, and of Maurice and Kingsley, his inherited evangelicalism was infused with a liberal spirit. His treatment of New Testament problems shows a singularly unbiassed, penetrating, and constructive mind. Besides the great *Prolegomena* to the Greek Text of the New Testament for which he was responsible, his *Christian Ecclesia* remains a masterly treatment of the organization of the primitive Church. His power as a religious thinker is shown in *The Way, the Truth and the Life*, and his gifts as an expositor in the fragment on I Peter. The influence of these three men on the religious thought of Britain, indeed of the Western world, was very great. They countered sceptical attacks by constructive interpretation of primitive Christianity based on thorough scholarship and undertaken in a spirit at once liberal and conservative. They embodied the finest qualities of the English judicial mind and gave a sense of stability at a time when the work of Strauss and Baur in Germany, with Renan's in France, and the phenomenal spread of scientific hypotheses everywhere were rocking the bases of Christian belief. In his recent *Social History of England*, G. M. Trevelyn remarks: "In the realm of thought and religion, the impact of Science and Darwin may come to seem as memorable as the impact of Erasmus and Luther."

During the reign of this triumvirate in Cambridge, there was no one in Oxford who attained to the same authority. William Sanday was the most outstanding figure. He was a meticulous scholar, scrupulously fair in stating conclusions with which he did not agree, but almost over-judicial in weighing evidence, and with neither the massive confidence of Lightfoot nor the originality of Hort. He was a master in textual criticism, who (unlike Lightfoot) devoted his chief attentions to the Gospels. The Synoptic Problem he handled with freshness and acuteness, and he pondered deeply on the Fourth Gospel. Conservative at first in regard to this subject, he gradually broke away from his earlier positions and in his old age—he died in 1920—he found most agreement with the advanced views of Baron von Hügel, the greatest lay theologian in the Roman Catholic Church, who wrote, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in 1911: "The reasons against the author being John the Zebedean or any other eye-witness of Jesus' earthly life have accumulated to a practical demonstration."

Sanday was the leader of a number of broad-minded younger scholars who have done much for English New Testament study. Among his contemporaries were Professor H. B. Swete, at Cambridge, of purest Anglican conservative tradition, classical and learned, and C. H. Turner at Oxford. I will linger for a moment on two others who appear to me to have done most to bring Anglican scholarship abreast of the problems that have been forced upon candid and open-minded investigators: F. C. Burkitt of Cambridge, and B. H. Streeter of Oxford. Burkitt was a brilliant representative of the Cambridge tradition, in the succession of Hort. With an extraordinary knowledge of the languages of the Middle East, especially Syriac, he spoke with finality on many of the problems of the Syriac version, but he became also a chief authority on the Old Latin and Vulgate versions. He was a pioneer too in Gospel criticism, and one of the first to adopt the view that eschatological beliefs were a prime factor in the thought of Jesus, but he refused to accept much of the more recent "Form-Criticism." He held that "the present position of the Gospel of Mark is one of the great achievements of Biblical Criticism, and a better historical view surely has religious value. If it be sound and thorough, it leads us back to Christ." "It is due to Burkitt," says a Cambridge colleague, "probably more than to anyone else, that the results of modern scholarship (as in *The Gospel History and its Transmission*) have won their way as far as they have in the Church of England today."

Better known to the average educated reader was B. H. Streeter, the chief ornament of New Testament scholarship in Oxford, unhappily killed at the age of sixty-two, in 1936, in a plane crash in Switzerland. He was at his death Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. This brilliant and versatile man is best known for his great work, *The Four Gospels* (1924), followed by *The Primitive Church* (1929). He had a bold, constructive mind, though sometimes over-ingenious in its working. His theory that Luke wrote his Gospel on the basis of special materials, into which later he embedded

Mark, has been the most suggestive of recent reconstructions of the Synoptic Gospels. As a churchman, Streeter was too broad for many, and had, I have been told, to meet a good deal of opposition in Oxford. Beneath all was a strong Christian conviction, and this with his scholarship gave him wide influence among students everywhere.

A more extended survey would have to dwell also on Professor J. M. Creed of Cambridge, whose early death left his brilliant promise only partly fulfilled, and another scholar, happily alive and still fertile in fine spiritual ideas, Edwyn Robert Bevan (born in 1870) who is an ornament of London and Oxford. He is perhaps the chief authority in England on Hellenistic civilization, on which he published an outstanding work over forty years ago. This he has followed with many distinguished writings bearing directly on primitive Christianity and the rise of the Church. His little book on *Christianity* in the Home Library Series is a masterpiece. Unlike Burkitt and Streeter, Bevan is said to be an Anglo-Catholic.

In textual criticism English learning has found scope for, and used to excellent results, its peculiar judicial gifts. No one in the last half century has represented it better in this department than Sir Frederic Kenyon, former Director of the British Museum, and the editor of the Chester Beatty Papyri, which were discovered a few years ago. He is also the author of an admirable handbook on *Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testament.*

We can afford but a glance at Nonconformist scholarship in England. In the period under review it has benefited greatly by the advantages given to Dissenters when Oxford and Cambridge were opened to them, and by the creation of new provincial universities of a very high order. Many of the best students of Oxford and Cambridge have been drawn in the last half century from the new Secondary Schools, where the material comes perhaps as largely from Dissent as from the Established Church.

The Methodists whom I have found most suggestive are J. Hope Moulton, A. S. Peake, and W. F. Howard. In all their writings, these men have never lost sight of the edification of the working ministry. Peake was a learned and persuasive writer and an interpreter of deep insight. Moulton, the most eminent scholar of a distinguished family, became a pioneer in the study of Biblical Greek and in the application of the discoveries of the papyri to its vocabulary. His premature death, through enemy action in the last war, in the Mediterranean, as he was returning from India, was deeply regretted not only as a sad loss to learning, but as the passing of a beautiful Christian soul. In 1918 the venerable Quaker, Rendel Harris, told me the tragic story of the last days when Moulton died in his arms in a boat as they drifted not far, I think, from Corsica.

Harris himself was one of the most versatile figures in English scholarship. Born in 1852, he became third wrangler at Cambridge and after that had a variegated career as lecturer and professor in English and American universities, and was finally made a F.B.A. He travelled extensively in the East, studying manuscripts at Mount Sinai, in Syria, and in Asia

Minor. The list of his writings is astounding for their variety and number. A devout, gentle spirit, Rendel Harris was surely one of the finest products of the Quaker body throughout its history.

Of the Baptists I owe most to T. R. Glover, and H. Wheeler Robinson. Glover was Public Orator of Cambridge University, and the author of various works on classical subjects. In addition, he wrote most effectively for the average educated reader on the life of Jesus and of Paul, and on early Christianity. A convinced Christian, fond of preaching, he was probably the most outstanding lay New Testament scholar, after Rendel Harris, in the Nonconformist world of England. Wheeler Robinson, though working chiefly on the Old Testament, has produced an altogether admirable short commentary on Hebrews. Among Presbyterians the late Charles Anderson Scott and the brilliant and much younger T. W. Manson, now of Manchester University, stand out. Of Congregationalists I will mention only C. H. Dodd, now a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, the very choice for this position being a remarkable tribute to his accomplishment. His books—among them those on Romans, *Parables*, *Apostolic Preaching*—are first-class, learned, bold in construction, always tending to make the gospel message and the early faith more real to the thoughtful student. Two Unitarians, James Drummond, one of the first to introduce Philo to the English world, and J. Estlin Carpenter, both did valuable work on the Fourth Gospel from different points of view. And the great Jewish scholars, Soloman Schechter, Israel Abrahams, and C. Montefiore, have laid New Testament students under a heavy debt.

To turn now to Scotland: there are features in its religious life which give it marked individuality in contrast with England. Its Protestant Church is overwhelmingly Presbyterian, with practically the same high standards of training for its ministry in all branches, based on a four years' Arts course. As a result, the newer scholarship, while met on the whole in a conservative spirit, did not arouse antagonism by reason of widespread fundamentalism. Many Scottish ministers had spent one or more sessions in Germany and were thus able to gauge the new problems with some first-hand knowledge. Professors of theology were chosen by the highest Church Court, or in the Established Church by the Crown, from among men who had been in the pastorate, and the lot fell occasionally on a popular mediocrity. The practice had this advantage, that in their lectures professors kept their eye on the need of the preacher as an expositor of Scripture, and nowhere has expository preaching been of a higher type than in Scotland. But the method of appointment worked adversely in regard to the thoroughness of New Testament scholarship. Though the classics were well taught in the leading Scottish schools, not so many boys went to the university with the same attainment as the best of those who entered Oxford and Cambridge, and the standard of classical honours in Arts in the Scottish universities was not so high. In England, furthermore, picked scholars were given fellowships or university appointments, and for years they could

concentrate their attention on their studies. When all this is taken into account, however, it must be recognized that for sane, competent interpretation of the New Testament, no Churches have been better served than the Scottish.

Sixty years ago the most eminent New Testament scholar in Scotland was A. B. Bruce, Professor in the Free Church College in Glasgow. A powerful character, and an open-minded and bold thinker, he did more than anyone else (though afterward Marcus Dods was a close second) to open up the New Testament to the intelligent sections of the Churches of Scotland by a consistent application of the new historical method. As a reward, he and Marcus Dods were tried by the Assembly for heresy; but, unlike Robertson Smith previously, they were let off with a reprimand for disturbing the Church. Bruce's work is thus estimated by his most brilliant student, James Moffatt: "He naturalized critical processes, and with singular open-mindedness resisted tradition and intellectual torpor in handling the New Testament as a subject either for writing or for preaching . . . . Historical truth and genuine religion were to Dr. Bruce inseparable allies. He was a great Christian scholar who has done more than almost anyone else throughout the country during the last quarter of the [nineteenth] century to make the knowledge of Jesus and his Christianity welcome and rich and reasonable."

His junior contemporary, Marcus Dods, was Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh, from 1889 to 1909. I had the privilege of attending his classes from 1890 to 1892. He was a beautiful character, sympathetic with those who were in difficulties, pensive, a particularly fine expositor, delivering in a quietly persuasive tone material much of which he modified to suit the large, intelligent congregations to which he often preached on Sundays. His calm, reasonable, scholarly, and judicial treatment of the new and acute problems made us more tolerant. His kindly nature led him sometimes to be too appreciative of new writers; but that was not a bad fault.

Bruce's successor, James Denney, had a brilliant career in classics and philosophy in Glasgow University, where he was for a time assistant to the Professor of Greek, Gilbert Murray. One of the best expository preachers in Scotland, he was, as professor, I suppose, the most impressive of the brilliant galaxy in the college, which included Thomas M. Lindsay, James S. Candlish, and George Adam Smith. Searching, logical, fearless in dissecting what he read, he allowed, I sometimes thought, his dogmatic convictions to influence too much his interpretation of the New Testament. But his commentary on Romans was a great work, and this and his other books on the teaching of Jesus were very influential in moulding the theological mind of the Scottish, Nonconformist, and American Churches.

Two years after I began to teach, I bought Professor William M. (afterwards Sir William) Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, and two years later, *St. Paul the Citizen and Roman Traveller*. He was then Professor

of Humanity in Aberdeen. Having been educated in Aberdeen, Germany, and Oxford, he became the first professor of Fine Art in Oxford. His works on the New Testament were based on the results of his repeated travels in Asia Minor and the interpretation of newly found inscriptions there. They opened up a new world for the study of the Greek and Roman environment of early Christianity, but they were better in providing the setting of that world than in detailed interpretation of the books.

Of successors to these great teachers, there have been three outstanding men known to many of us: H. A. A. Kennedy, James Moffatt, and Ernest F. Scott. Kennedy, though a year ahead of me, attended with me Professor S. H. Butcher's honour class on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and we formed a lasting friendship when we lived for a semester in Berlin a few doors apart. I was greatly pleased when he accepted the invitation to Knox College, Toronto. Here I saw much of him until he returned to Edinburgh to take Marcus Dod's chair. Few Scottish students had such excellent classical schooling as he had at the Edinburgh Academy. In the University he won from very good competitors the Vans Dunlop Scholarship, the blue ribbon in classics, worth £100 a year for three years, and he studied both at Oxford and in Germany. The appearance, a few years after he had finished his divinity course, of his *Sources of New Testament Greek* and his article on the Latin Versions in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, placed him at once high among promising young scholars. His later works on Ephesians, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, *Philo as a Religious Thinker*, were all marked by unusual learning and judgment. Most unfortunately, a few years after he returned to Edinburgh his health, which had been delicate ever since a dangerous attack of typhoid fever, broke down so completely that he had to give up his chair and his writing. That was a great loss; for in the New Testament field in Britain he was second to none of his contemporaries.

I remember well the shock which the appearance of James Moffatt's epoch-making *Historical New Testament* gave to conservatives in 1901. I find that I wrote thus in a review of it in the *Westminster* in September of that year: "Mr. Moffatt has shot like a brilliant star into the theological firmament. No longer do the results of left-wing German and French theology meet us only in translations as resident aliens with a foreign garb, but their ideas have become naturalized citizens enjoying the full rights and privileges of English thought and language." That book was only the remarkable beginning. He has continued wonderfully to absorb contemporary ideas. He seems to read everything and sifts it and uses it in support of his evangelical faith. He has written and edited both scholarly and popular commentaries, but in my opinion his most enduring contribution to Christian thought and life will be his translations of the New and the Old Testament which have influenced the religious ideas of average educated Christians all over the English-speaking world.

The third, Ernest Findlay Scott, for many years in Queen's University, held thereafter a chair in the Union Seminary, New York. After his arts

course in Glasgow, he went to Oxford and then returned to the United Presbyterian College in Scotland for his theology. I had friends who used to speak then of Scott as a man who would go far. While extremely liberal in his views, he is thoroughly evangelical. With great ability to grasp the literary and religious meaning of a book, he is a supreme exegete and an easy writer of great charm. Scott has been a pioneer in interpretation blended of advanced scholarship and deep religious spirit.

No survey of British New Testament scholarship in this period would be complete without reference to the great dictionaries of the Bible which have been issued. Dr. James Hastings, while not an expert scholar in any one branch, was one of the greatest editors of his time. His dictionaries of the Bible have done a vast deal to spread knowledge of it, treated from a modern and yet restrained view, among intelligent clergy and laity of the English-speaking world. The *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by T. K. Cheyne and Sutherland Black, contained much of the best learning of the day; but for some of their leading articles the editors went to Germany and Holland for extreme critics, and consequently the work as a whole has been largely confined in use to the few.

The other great branch of the English-speaking peoples, the American, proceeded on lines on the whole parallel to, but crossing here and there, those of British scholarship. Americans themselves worked their own field, though in more recent years a number of eminent Britons have been brought for leading positions in some of their colleges. Two general observations may be made. Few American students went to England for post-graduate work. Germany held out to them much greater opportunities, and German ideas were imported into the United States direct. German professors visited the country, and Americans and Germans were well known to one another. This held chiefly in the larger universities and theological seminaries. There was another important difference between the American and the British Churches. In the United States fundamentalism was far more prevalent than in Britain. There was a great deal of suspicion, not to say bitterness, between the higher institutions and many denominational seminaries: an antagonism that reminds one of the feuds in American political and social history between the pioneers on the frontier and the settled, well-to-do classes along the Atlantic seaboard. While those who lived within the middle states possessed much of the most virile energy of the nation, they did not reach the educational standards of the east. Their pastors were practical and knew the popular mind, but were not well enough educated to understand the modern scholarship, and therefore they feared and resisted it. In the southern states, fundamentalism was more widely diffused than even in the central; indeed it was all but universal. This reactionary attitude begat an aggressive spirit in Chicago University, where some members of the theological faculty fed ideas as into a blazing beacon which startled the twilight of the centre and the south. The Presbyterian Seminary at Princeton lost its leadership to the

Union in New York. Yale and Hartford, representing Congregationalism, also led in independent constructive thought. Harvard, though Unitarian by tradition, but without confessional connection, upheld high learning. The Episcopalians and the Methodists had institutions adorned with good modern scholars.

The first American New Testament scholar I met was Joseph Henry Thayer, Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School at Harvard University. Though he held this chair he was a Congregationalist. His great work was his translation into English of Grimm's *Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, revised by him and enlarged, which was in universal use for a generation. At that time, the spring of 1893, I spent a memorable evening as his guest at a theological club where A. V. G. Allen, Professor at the Episcopalian Divinity School near Harvard, read a paper. Dr. Allen, author of *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, and of the *Life of Phillips Brooks*, like Thayer adorned what he touched. For most enduring and original work in the New Testament field, though he was first of all a Semitic scholar, no American in recent years has surpassed George Foot Moore, who came to the chair of the History of Religions at Harvard in 1901. His massive learning, directed by fine judgment, has produced in his book *Judaism* a work that stands by itself. Coming from sound American Presbyterianism, he had a grasp of Reformed theology, though he went far from it into less trammelled doctrinal positions. Thayer's most distinguished pupil, also a Congregationalist, was J. H. Ropes, a genuine Harvard man and a kinsman of President Lowell. He was not only a respected scholar but influential in the University. Second to none in suggestiveness was B. W. Bacon of Yale, known through the New Testament world as a man of great originality and insight, but often too ingenious. His works on the Gospels and Paul, highly critical though they were, exhibited the constructive power of a fine religious mind. Less ingenious than Bacon but unsurpassed for the accuracy of his knowledge, was E. D. Burton, during many years Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago and for the last few years of his life, its president. Thorough and judicial, he ranked alongside the best scholars in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Of those who have enriched American institutions, besides Moffatt and Scott, there have been two first-class English scholars, Kirsopp Lake at Harvard and Foakes-Jackson at the Union, New York. Lastly, there is A. D. Nock, a young man of brilliant powers who came from Cambridge, England, to Harvard some fifteen years ago. Nock has already done remarkable work in the Hellenistic and New Testament fields.

Much more briefly I must refer to the Germans and the French. It would be impossible for me to speak with first-hand knowledge of recent developments, and I shall content myself with but a glance at a vast field. The Germany I knew was extremely powerful in the intellectual as well as in the economic and military worlds. There was an aggressive confidence

that was sufficient unto itself. The professors had little knowledge of, or regard for, British learning. The pursuit of *Wissenschaft* or Science as a method was their supreme aim. The University of Berlin in 1891 was the most influential in the world. Some of the names on her academic staff were among the greatest of the century. The Lutheran Church, however, though there were a few good preachers in the capital, had far less influence on the nation than the Churches in Britain and America on their people.

The New Testament scholars of that time were divided into three schools: the liberals, whose primary interest was to interpret Jesus by "natural" psychology, without supernatural intrusions, as a man of his day—a phenomenon to be accounted for in large measure in terms of his Jewish inheritance; the mediating religious school which, while using the critical method, maintained vigorously that the creative power of Christianity lay in a majestic Person whose nature could not be expressed in human categories; and the very learned Lutheran conservatives, who, while not uncritical, clung to orthodoxy.

David Frederick Strauss (1808-74) had been far the most influential New Testament scholar during the past century. A link with him remained in Berlin when I was there, Edouard Zeller, then seventy-seven years old, a professor of philosophy, who had been deeply impressed by Strauss and still held to the critical views of his father-in-law, F. C. Baur. Strauss was the father of the liberal school which attempted to delineate the "Jesus of History." Abandoning the Fourth Gospel, he applied myth and legend to explain events prefigured in Old Testament history, and he destroyed the trustworthiness of the miraculous record. His suggestions continued with amazing fertility to be reproduced by succeeding critics. The liberal school when I was in Berlin was led by Pfleiderer, though he was nearly a spent force. More influential were H. J. Holtzmann and Karl Weizsäcker in other German universities. But by far the most dominant school at that time, and for another decade or more, was that of Ritschl. Adolf Harnack was its best-known exponent. He was then a professor in Berlin, just forty years of age, and the most brilliant lecturer I ever studied under. At seven o'clock on summer mornings every day of the week except Sunday, his large classroom was packed with two hundred and fifty students who were enthralled by his discourse on the History of Dogma. The object of bitter attack by the conservatives on the one side and by liberals like his colleague Pfleiderer, on the other, he put forward with brilliantly marshalled learning the view that the Greek thought became so commingled in the formation of Christian dogma that the real gospel was concealed. He leaned, however, to traditional views as to the authorship and date of Christian literature. He emphasized the work of great personalities of the faith like Athanasius, Origen, Augustine, Luther. Light is thrown on his own inner life by a lecture on Augustine's *Confessions*, published in 1888, in which he opened up sympathetically the depths of Augustine's religion and showed how, after the mental and moral distraction of his early days, he found

rest and unity of life in divine love as being alone truth and power. It would be quite impossible for me to undertake any detailed account of Harnack's long life. I met him again in 1909. From him I carried away a profound sense that the Person, Jesus, was the historic centre of Christianity and that no merely rational dogmas could be substituted for faith in Him as the interpreter of God. Doubtless his views were not adequate, but at that stage in my experience, they held great truth for me.

In the next year at Marburg, the same type of religious thought was even more intensely impressed upon me by the devout William Herrmann, with the piercing blue eyes, on whose study desk stood a cross in alabaster. He made his course on Dogmatics an appeal for personal faith in God through the historic Jesus, distinguishing between *assentio* as an assent to a creed and *fiducia* as faith in a Person. As an antidote to the ideas of Strauss and Baur, this warm faith of the Ritschlians, who were both deeply religious and learned, served its day when Lutheran and Calvinistic schools were dull and were being tested in a severe ordeal.

The faculty of Divinity in Marburg was then one of the most brilliant in Germany. Julius Wellhausen, forty-eight years old, pointed at awesomely by the ignorant orthodox as almost a pagan, used to walk home pondering deeply from the University past my pension, and I once went to hear him lecture in his course on Hosea. He had not yet published his suggestive work on the Synoptic Gospels. Herrmann's fervid faith was tempered by the rigid scientific tone of the then young Adolf Jülicher. He was as typical a German scholar as I ever saw. Once at Herrmann's at lunch, one of our number (there were three of us) told our host that a few evenings before, when we were at Professor Jülicher's for dinner, he could get no conversation with Frau Jülicher at whose right hand he was sitting, because she listened so intently to her husband. "Yes," said Herrmann, "It is the only chance the poor woman has of hearing him talk; for he even brings a table of dates to learn by heart at mealtime." Jülicher was an intense personality, nothing of a mystic, and rigidly devoted to historical truth. His course on I Corinthians gave me a new idea of the thoroughness, as well as the dogmatism, of German scholarship. His greatest work, the *Parables of Jesus*, contained a new analysis and interpretation which revolutionized subsequent treatment, though with his rigid logicality he carried his application to extremes. Its abiding influence is seen in the work of C. H. Dodd, which appeared about a decade ago. Living into his eighty-second year (he died in 1936), he seems in his later years to have recognized the religious power of Karl Barth, but felt strongly that Barth had gone dangerously far in imposing on Paul his own thoughts and feelings.

A glance at German New Testament study in the last century leaves one deeply impressed by the immense learning and untiring work of these scholars. Their ceaseless toil and daring suggestions, often made at the cost of bitter antagonism and even sacrifice, form one of the finest chapters in the cultural life of that people, who now by an overwhelming tragedy

have allowed themselves, except for an heroic remnant, to become unfaithful to the spiritual ideals of their greatest ages.

While in Germany biblical scholarship was Protestant, in France it was mainly Roman Catholic. The critic most widely read, though not very influential among scholars, was Ernest Renan. His critical views of Jesus he derived chiefly from Strauss. In his literary masterpiece, *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, published in 1883, he wrote: "Christianity presents itself as an historical supernatural fact. It is by the historical sciences that we may establish (and as I think in a peremptory fashion) that this fact has not been supernatural and that there has never been a supernatural fact." Later, the Roman Church in France was deeply troubled by modernism. The Abbé L. M. O. Duchesne (1843-1922) remained in the Roman Church and had great influence on the educated French clergy. Profound and fearless, he was an authoritative exponent of early Christian worship and the history of the early Christian Church; but he had to cease lecturing in an ecclesiastical college, and his last book was placed on the Index. But by far the most outstanding representative was the Abbé Alfred Loisy. While he followed Wellhausen in the Old Testament, most of his work was done on the New Testament and in this he sided with the German liberal school. His *L'Évangile et l'Église*, published in 1902, took strong ground in opposition to Harnack. His great commentary on the Fourth Gospel followed. In it he dissolved the historical character of the Gospel into symbolic, mystical elements. In this and in later writings, Loisy sought to show that the gospel as first proclaimed by Jesus was not a mystery religion: "Jesus, the victim of a fantastic delusion, died for the phantom of a Kingdom of God which never came and never will come." Had the belief of His followers that He was the Messiah not been transformed into a mystery religion chiefly by Paul, it would never have conquered the gentile Mediterranean world as it did. But the Christianity which Paul preached was a new religion, utterly different from the intention of its Founder. It is not surprising that Pope Pius X placed Loisy's books on the Index and that he was deprived of his priestly office. But in 1910 a papal decree went much further, imposing an oath on all teachers and scholars to renounce all rationalistic Bible criticism and to hold fast to the uttermost, and in their hearts, the divine truth as transmitted through the bishops who are the successors of the apostles, in which there can be no conflict between Church doctrine and historical facts. This oath aroused great commotion among the liberal Catholic scholars both in France and in Germany, but the Vatican remained obdurate. On his death-bed in 1934, Loisy wrote: "The principal nerve, the true spring of human society, is not science, but love and self-devotion, and Christianity, which has laid down this principle, in applying it to all humanity was thus proclaiming a law of humanity far superior to all the religions of antiquity, as it was to all the speculation and science of Hellenism."

In England especially there has arisen recently a strong protest by some younger theologians who are crying halt to liberalism. Possibly this has been intensified by the influence of Karl Barth. If it means that the scientific method must not be applied to the books of the New Testament and to the history of Christian doctrine, it will be merely the passing reaction of timid and perhaps sluggish spirits. But it is more than that. It is the protest of those who have found utterly inadequate the picture of the historic Jesus and of the rise of Christianity which such liberal theologians as H. J. Holtzmann in Germany and Alfred Loisy in Paris had for many years presented as the last word in scientific theology and as an end in itself.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

FRANK W. BEARE

THE publication of literature through the medium of the book is a development which makes its appearance relatively late in the history of human culture. For many centuries after writing was invented, men communicated their thoughts and gave their poems and stories to their fellows vocally; the singer, the herald, and the orator were the only publishers. Works of literature were composed and published, but not in writing; and books were written but not published. Even in societies which were capable of high cultural achievement over a period of several thousand years, book-publication was virtually unknown. Now it so happens that while the history of the book and the history of literature have often been described, little attention has ever been given to the history of publication. This article is an attempt to enquire into the rise and development of the practice, chiefly in the societies of the Near East, which are the forerunners of the modern civilization of the West.

I. EGYPT AND BABYLONIA

In the ancient cultures of Egypt and Western Asia, writing came into use early in the fourth millenium B.C., but until Hellenistic times it remained the property of a relatively small class of trained personnel. Apart from the professional scribes, few persons learned the art, so that no reading public was developed and there was no field for publication in writing. The Pyramid Texts, for instance, which go back to the early centuries of the third millenium, were inscribed on the walls of the inner chambers of these mighty tombs and were never published. From the same epoch, we have a sort of rude annals, compiled by the priests for the glory of the divine Kings, but these too were never intended for publication. Some few folk-songs which have survived from that Old Kingdom were inscribed by the artists who decorated the tombs, over scenes of everyday life on which the songs were based, but they were never put into the hands of the public in book-form. "Like sculpture, painting, and the other arts, literature is, at the beginning, only a decoration of temples and tombs . . . ."[1] In the Middle Kingdom, which flourished in the first quarter of the second millenium, a very considerable literature arose, and many texts from this period have been preserved on rolls of papyrus. This is not to be taken as evidence that the literature was *published* in book-form. It must be remembered that all the surviving fragments have been found in tombs, and that the Egyptians always tried to provide the dead man with all the things that he had used in this life; thus the fact that they left beside his mummy a copy of his favourite novel only shows that filial piety desired

[1] A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization* (London, 1927), 456.

to provide for his entertainment as well as his sustenance in the life beyond. Professor Breasted remarks that one of the most popular stories of the time "was even written on sherds or flags of stone to be placed in the tomb for the entertainment of the dead in the hereafter,"[2] and this motive would appear to account for the preservation of all that we have at our disposal; it is far from likely that these songs and stories were published in writing for the benefit of the living. The famous "Book of the Dead" was a volume of religious texts which were originally inscribed on the coffins and sarcophagi; when they became too numerous and too long to allow of this method, they were written on papyrus rolls and bound up inside the wrappings of the mummy. This book, then, although frequently copied, was not published, for such a mortuary distribution cannot be called publication. It seems proper to conclude that in ancient Egypt books of whatever description were written not for communication to the public through general circulation, but for the transmission of priestly lore, for guidance in the celebration of the rites, or for magical purposes (including the guidance and entertainment of the dead). Writing was, of course, used very freely in Egypt for business purposes, for recording every kind of transaction; but the scribes remained a distinct and limited class, carefully trained and highly honoured, and there is nothing to show that people in general knew how to write and read.

In the Mesopotamian area, there is a certain type of publication in writing, though not in books, before the middle of the third millenium, in the royal inscriptions of the kings of Sumer and Akkad. More definitely, something that deserves the name of literature is published by Gudea of Lagash (*circ.* 2600 B.C. ?), who caused his long religious poem to be inscribed on hollow cylinders of baked clay. These cylinders were probably exhibited to the public view in the temple; even so, the real publication would be made by priests or singers, who would recite or chant the poem to the assembled people. The great Babylonian epics have come down to us in the form given to them by the Amorite conquerors, who came into the land towards the middle of the second millenium and exalted Marduk of Babylon to a place of pre-eminence that he had never possessed before; but basically they belong to the time of the Kingdom of Sumer and Akkad, around the middle of the third millenium. They were inscribed on clay tablets, which are an excellent medium for the preservation of documents in the royal or priestly archives, but far from convenient for purposes of publication and general circulation. Copies of these tablets were made for the use of the priests, but whatever publication they received came through recitation or chanting, not by the distribution of the written tablets. The inconvenience of the tablet-form and the difficulty of the cuneiform ideographs would in any case have rendered publication by this medium quite impracticable on any large scale. In Egypt, the papyrus roll offered a convenient enough type of book, but the writing itself was

[2] J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (ed. 2, New York, 1924), 203.

too difficult to admit of general use; the publication of books in Egyptian on an important scale awaits the adoption of the Greek alphabet and the creation of the Coptic script, in the second Christian century.

II. Publication of Law-Codes

The first documents to receive true publication in written form were undoubtedly laws. In Babylonia, some time in the first half of the second millenium,[3] the famous Code of Hammurabi was inscribed on great black stone pillars, surmounted by a bas-relief of the king standing before the throne of the sun-god Shamash to receive the sacred laws at his hands. In Greece, towards the middle of the sixth century, the laws of Solon were published on revolving wooden tablets set up in the agora of Athens. The Twelve Tables, which are the earliest documents of the imposing fabric of Roman Law, were erected in the forum about a century after the work of the Athenian legislator. In the latter two cases, such publication went with a social revolution, and it does not imply a change of popular habits or even a general ability to read. In Cicero's time, every Roman schoolboy was required to memorize the Tables, and this may well have been the chief means of making them known to the public from the first. In all these instances we have publication in writing, but there is still nothing that could be called a published book.

III. Publication of Hebrew Literature

The writings of the Hebrew prophets of the eighth century B.C. may perhaps claim the honour of initiating the publication of literature through the medium of the book. There were many prophets in Israel before the days of Amos the herdsman of Tekoa, but none of them committed his oracles to writing, and only a few fragments were preserved in the memory of the people until a later age. The foundation document of the Pentateuch, known as "J" (Jahvist), was composed in the ninth century, but while it may have been read aloud to the people, there is nothing to show that it was published in writing until a much later time. The publication of Hebrew literature through the book begins in a limited and clandestine way with Amos. With him, the written word takes its place alongside the orator's proclamation as a medium for the dissemination of ideas; being refused freedom of speech, the prophet makes appeal to the pen and the manuscript.

Even then, the reading public was limited, and for Amos publication in writing was undoubtedly a *pis aller*. As long as he was allowed to stand in a public square at Jerusalem and cry his oracles into the ears of the attendant throng, he could make his message far more widely and more

[3]Until recently, Hammurabi was assigned a much earlier date, but recent investigation, little of which is yet published, tends to bring the date nearer to the middle of the second millenium.

effectively known than through writing. For if a writing is to become widely published, it must be possible to make many copies and to distribute them far and near. But in the eighth century, no apparatus of copying and distribution had yet been created. Amos would inscribe his book on leather, prepared it may be from the skins of his own sheep.[4] It would be easy enough for him to inscribe the autograph and to make a few extra copies for others to carry about the land to read to the people, but there was nothing in the way of a publishing house to which he might take his manuscript to have an edition of some hundreds or even scores of copies brought out. Every copy would have to be made by hand, and the number would be limited first by the amount of sheepskin at his disposal, and second by the time that he and his devoted friends could spare for the task of copying. It would be a labour of love, for he could not expect to sell any copies, and he was not likely to receive the patronage of the court and the wealthy, against whom his oracles were directed in bitter denunciation. This is probably the first instance in history of a private individual seeking an approach to the public in writing.

Though the great innovation was made in the eighth century, it was long before the book became an accepted medium of publication in Israel. Towards the close of the seventh century it is to be observed that Jeremiah still regards the public proclamation as the normal means of publishing his oracles; he commits them to writing for the first time only because he is in prison and cannot go to the Lord's house to deliver them with his voice.[5] He therefore engages the scribe Baruch to "write from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord . . . upon a roll of a book," and the scribe is to "read the book in the ears of the people." This book, evidently a papyrus roll, was destroyed by the King, who was so incensed on hearing it read that he cut it to pieces and burned it in the brazier beside him. At Jeremiah's dictation, the scribe made a fresh record of the oracles, with substantial new matter—"there were added besides unto them many like words." This second group of oracles, unlike the first, was evidently not destined for vocal proclamation, but was from the beginning to depend upon the book. Following the example of his eighth-century predecessors, Jeremiah used publication in writing as the second string to his bow.

The conquest of Israel by the Babylonians arrested the progress of civilization in the land by forcing into exile all the elements of the population that were felt to be capable of supplying leadership for further resistance. When the exiles returned, they found the remnants of their

[4]Papyrus was available in Syria, and presumably in Palestine, from at least as early as the twelfth century. See F. G. Kenyon, *The Bible and Archaeology* (London, 1940), 116. It is to be assumed, however, that as an imported article it was expensive, and it is not likely that it would be available for private individuals, especially if they were in disfavour at court. In any case, the use of papyrus would not facilitate large-scale publication for Amos.

[5]Jeremiah 36: 1-10.

people in a pitiable state of poverty and ignorance, the result of two generations of subjection to an alien rule which took no thought for the welfare of the governed. Little improvement took place before the arrival of the capable and devoted leaders Ezra and Nehemiah in the second half of the fifth century; and it is clear that these men had to do with a population that had lost all knowledge of its own sacred literature, and possessed no books in which it was preserved. When the time came to publish the latest of the basic documents of the Pentateuch, the great legal code which the priests had elaborated in Babylon, it was found necessary to read it to the assembled people. "All the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water-gate . . . and Ezra the priest brought the Law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding . . . and he read therein . . . from the morning until midday."[6] "Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days." Illiteracy may have been unusually great in Israel, but no such local condition is needed to account for the choice of this method of publication. In the fifth century, little reading was done even in the most brilliant cities of Greece, and there was little publication of books. Not only in desolate Israel, but everywhere in the world of that time, literature of every variety was published chiefly by the voice.

Yet the reforms of Ezra must have been followed at no long interval by the publication of the Law in book-form, probably with contents which correspond fairly closely to the Pentateuch as we now have it. For during the generations immediately following there grew up the remarkable class of teachers and jurists known as the scribes. Ezra, who is assumed to be the father of scribism, was a priest, but the scribes in general were a lay institution, unconnected with the priestly order, and as G. F. Moore points out, "The development of a lay jurisprudence, not dependent upon the priesthood, the hereditary custodians of the law, presumes the publication of a body of written law accessible to any who chose to occupy themselves with the study of it."[7] The type of work to which the scribes devoted themselves was made possible only by the existence of published documents as a basis for detailed commentary. From the fourth century onwards, then, the published book becomes the mainspring of cultural development among the Jewish people. Precisely the same period sees the growth of a like phenomenon in the Hellenic world.

IV. Greek Literature of the Classical Period

Among the Greeks, literature begins with Homer, and the Homeric poems were composed to be sung at the courts or campfires of the Achaeans a century or so after the great war with Troy. From the sixth century

[6]Nehemiah 8: 1-3, 18.

[7]*Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 42.

onwards, public recitations were made of them at Athens under the direction and at the expense of the state. They must therefore have been in existence in manuscript, in substantially their present form, not later than the middle of the sixth century; though few would any longer credit the theory of Wolf, that they were first given this form by an editorial committee appointed by Pisistratus. It is still a question whether the manuscript tradition goes much farther back. Did Homer himself, (or the group of master-poets known collectively as Homer, if you will) commit the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to writing, or were they at all set down in manuscript in the age of their composition? If so, we may at least be sure that it was not done for the benefit of the public, to permit admirers to read them at home, but for the convenience of the bards, to aid them in their recitations.[8] Publication continued to be what it was in the first instance, the reading or chanting of the poems before the public assembly, not the multiplication and distribution of manuscripts. Though Homer was in fact copied far more frequently than any other writer of Greece, few Greeks can ever have possessed a complete set of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the majority probably never saw a manuscript of the poems at all except in the hands of the schoolmaster, in the classical age. It was, of course, not out of the way for the whole forty-eight books to be learned by heart.

The early elegiac poetry was likewise published primarily by public recitation. A rather spectacular example may be drawn from the life of Solon. When the Athenians had lost Salamis to the Megarians, Solon stirred them up by his poetry to renew the war and regain his native isle. It was difficult and dangerous to get a hearing, for in a fit of war-weariness they had passed a decree imposing the death penalty on anyone who should propose to keep up the fighting over Salamis. Solon, therefore, pretending madness, burst into the agora with a garland on his head, and when he had thus gained an audience, he had his verses on Salamis read to the throng by a herald.[9] The procedure can hardly be regarded as normal; probably he engaged the services of the herald as being the only reader accustomed to make his voice heard above the murmur of the multitude. Even so, the incident reflects again the fact that literature of every description was published by the voice, not by the pen. It would never have occurred to Solon to organize a clandestine distribution of manuscript copies of his poem, in anticipation of the methods of the modern underground press.

The story of Herodotus reveals quite clearly that in the second half of the fifth century, the aspiring man of letters still found it convenient to bring his works before the public by reading them aloud. Herodotus gave public readings of, or from, his great *History*, in several cities of Greece, notably in Athens. (Olympia, Corinth, and Thebes are also mentioned.)

[8]F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 1932), 12-16.

[9]Diogenes Laertius, I, 46. Plutarch, in his "Life of Solon," said that Solon read the poem himself, in the garb of a herald.

An historical fragment tells us that he received ten talents as a gift from the Athenians, on the proposal of Anytus; a later chronicler adds that "he was honoured by the Council of the Athenians for reading them his books." Copies were made, of course, but it would appear that they were made to order, for there is no evidence at this period of an organized trade or a multiplication of copies for sale; and certainly Herodotus never hoped to profit by the sale of manuscript copies of his work, though they must have helped some poor scribes to turn an honest penny.

Thucydides, on the other hand, scorning the popular arts of Herodotus, disavows any desire to make his history pleasant to an audience seeking to be entertained; It may seem *es men akroasin . . . aterpesteron*, "somewhat dull to the listener." He is, we may affirm with some confidence, the first great writer of the Greek world to write solely, or at least primarily, for the student who will take the manuscript into his own hands and read it for instruction as well as for delectation. He tells us in so many words that he is not concerned to give a passing pleasure to a throng of his contemporaries, but to attain an accuracy that will entitle his work to immortality. "This work has been composed not as a display-piece for the immediate entertainment of an audience, but as a possession for the ages."[10] Clearly, then, he envisages publication through the manuscript, not as secondary and merely supplementary to a vocal publication, but as the sole means of bringing his work before his fellows; and he is the first Greek of whom this may be said. Unfortunately, we know nothing of any means he may have taken for the multiplication of copies of his autograph, and as he died before his task was completed, it is possible that it was never once copied or brought to the public attention during his lifetime, even in part. According to Diogenes Laertius[11] there was a story that Xenophon had been responsible for making the writings of his mighty predecessor known to the world, when it was in his power to leave them in concealment; this would suggest that the *History of the Peloponnesian War* was still unpublished. The story may or may not be true, but in either case it reflects the possibility of a genuine masterpiece existing for some years in the autograph alone, and depending for publication on the good sense and goodwill of a later writer. Demosthenes is said to have copied the great history eight times with his own hand; this, however, is not a venture into the publishing field but an exercise directed towards the formation of a style.

[10]Thucydides, I, 22. The passage is most important for the history of Greek literature. It implies that his predecessors had written their books with a view to public readings, and more for entertainment than for instruction in the truth. His criticism is not to be imputed to professional vanity; it reflects a new attitude towards the possibilities of historical prose, and a new definition of its purposes and methods. Crawley, in his translation in Everyman's, misses the point entirely, when he renders, "The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest," and again "not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment"; he fails to see that it is the pleasing *of the ear* which is disavowed.

[11]II, 5ff.

By the time of Xenophon, the facilities for literary publication were much greater than those available to Herodotus and Thucydides. In the fourth century, the reading public was increasing in numbers, sufficiently so that a book-trade had developed, and there is evidence for the existence of shops in which a choice of works on different subjects was displayed for sale. Xenophon, then, may have had some arrangement with a commercial establishment, which would undertake to have his manuscripts copied by professional scribes, and to distribute them through booksellers. It is quite possible, however, that he was his own publisher, and that on his estates at Scilla he set his slaves to the task of making copies to be sent to his friends, a limited edition for private circulation.[12] As his style was greatly admired, the friends who were fortunate enough to receive presentation copies would have them read aloud at house-parties for the entertainment of themselves and their friends; and some of the guests would borrow the manuscript to have a copy made for their own possession. Greek literature in the classical period was reproduced and transmitted almost entirely in this voluntary haphazard fashion.

The works of the great dramatists received of necessity a somewhat different treatment. Whether for tragedies or for comedies, a number of copies would have to be made at the outset for the needs of the stage presentation,[13] and the making of them would be part of the expense to be borne by the choregus.[14] It is a notable fact that of the hundreds of plays which were written for the Greek stage, none have survived except the handful that continued to be played from time to time in the succeeding centuries. Here we have a clear indication that it was the needs of the stage, not the demands of the private reader, which called for the copying

[12]This is the opinion of M. Schmitz, in *Schriftsteller und Buchhändler in Athen* (Darmstadt, 1876), 14. He admits that "evidence from the ancients is lacking on this point." There is evidence enough, however, that important works were in some instances at least prepared for publication by slaves possessed by the author himself; for instance, Antigonus Gonatas sent a number of slaves to Zeno the Stoic, to copy his writings for him (Diog. Laert., VII, 36). This would be a full century later than Xenophon.

[13]Epinician odes, dithyrambs, and all such poetry as was written to be sung in chorus, with musical accompaniment, would likewise require the immediate preparation of a number of copies.

[14]In Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1114, the first phrase, "biblion t'echōn hekastos," has been taken to mean that every spectator in the theatre had a copy of the play in his hands! It would be palpably absurd to suppose that several thousand copies of every play presented on the Greek stage were prepared in manuscript in advance, and sold at the box office. B. B. Rogers offers the explanation that the text which we have is that used for the second representation of the play, and that copies could have been secured in the interval since the first performance. In view of the unparalleled success of the play and the unique honour of granting it a second performance, it is possible that special measures of publication were taken in respect of the *Frogs*; but it seems more likely that the words are to be taken as tremendously hyperbolical, and imply no more than that a fair number of spectators have provided themselves with a manuscript of the play for the occasion. Even in these days of cheap printed editions, few people take a copy of the play to the theatre with them.

of manuscripts. There was little impetus to publication of plays for a reading public even in Hellenistic and Roman times, when literacy was far more widespread than in any earlier period. For dramatic literature at least, and probably for all poetry, the approach to the public continued to be made almost exclusively by the voice, not through the manuscript page.

Philosophy likewise is dependent far more upon the voice than upon the pen; the philosopher is a lecturer first, or the leader of a discussion group—and a writer second. Thales, the father of philosophy, wrote nothing, or at the most, two short treatises.[15] Socrates, as everyone knows, wrote nothing at all. Tarrying long at the wine, or button-holing the unwary youth at the street-corner, he turned the world upside down by oral argument. His contemporaries and some of his predecessors certainly published books containing the exposition of their systems, but they too advanced their ideas primarily by the oral instruction of disciples; they became known far more by their lectures than by their manuscripts. Protagoras and Prodicus read their works to groups of listeners, and charged a fee.[16] Democritus wrote a large number of books, and they had a fair circulation; possibly the cost of producing them fell upon his own shoulders and, coupled with the expenses of his travels, crippled him financially. There is an odd story about him in Diogenes Laertius, who takes it from Antisthenes.[17] Reduced to poverty in his old age, he feared that he might fall victim to prosecution under a local ordinance, which provided that no one who had squandered his inheritance should be buried in his native city. He therefore gave a public reading of his best treatise, entitled *The Great Diacosmos;* for this, he received a grant of 500 talents from the public treasury, and when he died, he was honoured by a state funeral. If the story be true, it would appear that even a philosophical treatise could be published by oral recitation, and bring to the writer a reward that he could never hope to win from the sale of manuscripts; true or not, it was at least imaginable to the men of letters who repeated the story.

Neither Socrates nor Plato set much value on the writing of philosophical treatises; indeed, both these thinkers go to some trouble to argue that no sensible man will even dream of treating serious subjects in writing.[18] Socrates practised what he preached in this respect as in others; he left nothing at all in writing. We are bound to be exceeding thankful that Plato was less faithful to his declared principles, but he leaves us to wonder what motive impelled him to change his mind about reducing his thought to writing. It was perhaps by way of compromise that he chose the dialogue form, seeking to reproduce within the limits of his medium that interplay of mind with mind in reciprocal discussion, which he held to be the only pathway to the attainment of understanding.

[15]Diog. Laert., I, 23. Cf. Thales' letter in I, 44: "We [i.e., himself and Solon] who write nothing."

[16]*Ibid.*, IX, 50.

[17]*Ibid.*, IX, 39.

[18]*Phaedrus*, 274C-277A and *Epistles*, VII, 341B-344E.

In the classical age of Greece, then, there was only a very limited circulation of books. The historian and the philosopher, almost as much as the poet, addressed himself to the listening audience and seldom had in mind the private reader. The multiplication of manuscripts destined for distribution beyond the circle of interested friends or devoted disciples scarcely gets under way until late in the fifth century, and remains relatively limited until the age of Alexander.[19] The vast expansion of the book-trade which follows is due in large measure to the opening of the ancient frontiers by his conquests, and to the growth of a world community, which could not have its common needs satisfied and its culture fostered in the unified way which it desired, except through the distribution of books.

V. The Hellenistic Age—Influence of Libraries

The creation of libraries, which foster the publication of books by providing an immediate market for works on all manner of subjects, begins in the sixth century, but does not become an important factor until late in the fourth century. The earliest libraries of the Greek world were founded by some of the tyrants: Polycrates of Samos and Pisistratus of Athens are the most famous of the early collectors.[20] Late in the fifth century, we begin to hear of private collections, that of Euripides being perhaps the most extensive and certainly the best known. But it is a century later before a general trend towards the making of libraries becomes evident, and Aristotle is the moving spirit. The "master of those that know" made it his business to gather together the writings of his predecessors, and as he took all knowledge for his province, his library was comprehensive and

[19]Cf. the remarks of Kenyon (*op. cit.*, 24), on the situation in Athens at the end of the fifth century: "Books existed . . . in considerable quantity, and were cheap and easily accessible. A habit of reading was growing up, but was not yet very firmly established. The general opinion did not rate reading highly as a means of mental training, in comparison with the play of mind upon mind in oral discussion."

[20]Some doubt has been expressed as to the reliability of the tradition concerning these early collections (Kenyon, *op. cit.*, 23; Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, ed. 2, Berlin, 1921, 150). But there seems to be no solid reason for rejecting it. In all periods of history, the despot has sought to justify his existence by patronizing arts and letters; Polycrates and Pisistratus may quite well have adopted this method of assuring the preservation of their country's literature. In fact, without some such early attempts at collections, it seems likely that almost all the works of earlier authors would have perished before the Alexandrian collectors could save them.

The Assyrian royal library, founded by Ashurbanipal (seventh century) antedates anything of the sort in the Greek world; it has provided us with a mass of cuneiform documents. This library, however, appears to be an isolated phenomenon in the culture of the Near East. It did not lead to any general growth of libraries, or contribute to the multiplication of books for publication. It was a collection, chiefly of religious texts (formulae of divination, incantations, prayers, medical charms, etc.), from documents previously stored in the temple archives of cities of the southern plain. The royal scribes now made fresh copies on the usual clay tablets, and no doubt endeavoured to make the royal collection as complete as possible; but there is nothing to show that other copies were made for publication.

varied. Strabo hardly exaggerates the services of the great philosopher when he writes that "Aristotle is the first, of whom we know, who collected books, and it was he who taught the Kings of Egypt the organization of a library."[21] Following him, the Hellenistic monarchs went far beyond anything that had ever been attempted before. The great library of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus at the beginning of the third century, stirred his fellow-monarchs to emulation. Eumenes II of Pergamum, early in the second century, undertook to establish in his capital a library that should outshine the great Egyptian institution, and he made Pergamum so renowned a centre of book-production that it gave its name to the recently-introduced writing-material, *pergamēnē*, parchment. But all the Hellenistic capitals had libraries of greater or less importance, and these, under the active patronage of the kings, afforded a continuing stimulus to book-production. Private libraries also kept increasing in number and in extent during Hellenistic times and under the Romans; and with the immense extension of Greek culture to the East and to the West, there came to be a book-trade of no small importance. The gains from the trade went entirely to the merchant and to the scribe, not to the author, for there was and could be no copyright in a book; anyone who could write was free to make a copy of any book on which he could lay his hands, and to sell it for whatever a customer would pay.

VI. Christian Publication

The literature of early Christianity occupies a place peculiar to itself in the history of book-manufacture and publication. Christian scribes were the men chiefly responsible for the triumph of the codex over the roll as the form of book to be used for literary reproduction. In the matter of publication, it is clear that the Christian books were copied and distributed on a scale that no other ancient writings remotely approached. For in Christianity, the literature of religion and the life of faith were linked in intimate association, and the doctrine was by its very nature public, not esoteric. The role of the book is not so dominant in the first Christian generation, when the sense of immediate personal inspiration was intensely strong; though even then, as the Pauline letters clearly show, the books of the Greek Old Testament were used easily and freely as the source and vindication of the truth of the gospel. But more and more, especially from the second century onwards, as churches were established in every quarter of the Empire and even beyond its bounds, the Christian society fostered its sense of unity upon the apostolic writings and treated them as the fountainhead of all its teachings. Every little congregation required copies of the Gospels and the Epistles, not as luxuries for entertainment and general cultivation, but as the necessary instruments of church life; even individual Christians had a motive for possessing their own copies of at

[21] *Geography*, XIII, i, 54.

least some of the sacred books. The strong sense of unity which was felt by the scattered little communities resulted in a constant demand for the writings of contemporary teachers also; the Christian theologian wrote for the whole Catholic Church, not for his own locality. In Christian hands, books became a means of propaganda, and thus received something approaching a mass circulation. The books of Origen, of Irenaeus, and of Tertullian were copied and distributed during the lifetime of their authors in numbers far greater than any classical writer had ever known or imagined possible. For the Christian Church, by its nature and its circumstances, was a reading society as truly as it was a worshipping society.

Origen of Alexandria, writing in the first half of the third century A.D., enjoyed exceptionally favourable treatment in the matter of publication. About 212 he won over to the orthodox faith a wealthy man named Ambrose who had previously been attached to the Gnostic sect of Valentinus. Ambrose conceived an unbounded admiration for the great Christian scholar, and out of his own resources he furnished him with the means of engaging several amanuenses to take dictation in shorthand, others to prepare a fair copy of each instalment, and a number of girls skilled in calligraphy to multiply the copies for distribution.[22] Origen thus had at his sole disposition the facilities of a large scriptorium. About 218 it appears that he made a formal contract with Ambrose for the publication of voluminous commentaries on the Scriptures.[23] He was by that time resident in Palestine, for the envy of his bishop had made life unendurable for him in Alexandria. Origen agreed to keep his patron supplied with a steady stream of manuscripts which Ambrose was to have copied and distributed at his own charge. Some of these copies may have been sold, for Origen had a large following of students and admirers all over the Christian East, who showed him an extraordinary devotion and may well have been prepared to purchase his works as they issued from the scriptorium. But it is hardly likely that Ambrose had any hope of recovering the costs of production from the proceeds of such sales; he promoted the distribution of Origen's writings out of disinterested devotion, in the conviction that he was thus advancing the triumph of Christianity in the world. His judgment was sound, for it was in truth the Christian thought of Origen which destroyed the intellectual foundations of paganism. From his time on, Christianity produced or attracted to its support practically all the intelligent men of the world; Plotinus is the last great non-Christian thinker.

With the fourth century, learning and literature became more and more the exclusive province of the Church, for as ancient society fell apart, the Church proved to be the only institution endued with sufficient vitality to maintain itself and to preserve the chief treasures of the culture within

[22] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 23.

[23] Origen, *Philocalia*, 5; cf. the remarks of E. Preuschen in his introduction to his edition of Origen's *Commentaries on the Gospel according to St. John* (*Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, Origenes' Werke*, IV, Leipzig, 1903, lxxvi ff.).

which it had taken form. Reading and writing ceased any longer to be common to all but the very lowest classes, and became once again the accomplishment of a limited group, of clergy and of monks. The scope for book-publication was therefore limited again to the narrow circle of the specially trained, and for more general publication the human voice was the necessary medium. The consequence is that, except for the rich fruits of recent archaeological discovery, the books of the ancient world that have come down to us are copies made by the monastic scribes of the Middle Ages. The scriptoria of the monasteries naturally devoted most of their labours to the production of copies of the Scriptures, the Lectionary, the Liturgy, and the works of the favourite Fathers; but from time to time copies were made of the great books of classical antiquity, not for publication, but for use in education. The medieval manuscripts are all written on vellum or (from the middle of the fourteenth century) on paper, and are made in the form known as the codex, which consists of folded sheets bound together at the folded edge and carrying text on both sides, as in the modern printed book. But the vellum codex became the main medium of the scribe only in the fourth century A.D. Before that time, the published book of the ancient world was inscribed on rolls of papyrus, and it has been discovered recently that in the second and third centuries Christian scribes were making use of papyrus codices.

VII. The Book-Roll and Its Materials
Papyrus and Vellum

Until the fourth Christian century, then, ancient books were published on rolls. Many different materials were employed in this form—notably linen, leather, lead, and bark, as well as papyrus and vellum. In the time of Herodotus, the Ionian Greeks had so recently abandoned the use of leather for the purpose that they still called books "skins" (diphtherai) even when they were written on papyrus, and he tells that leather was still used by the "barbarians."[24] It had indeed been used in Egypt, in Mesopotamia and in Assyria from much earlier times; examples of leather rolls from Egypt from early in the second millenium are still extant. Linen was used in Egypt, at Rome, and among the Etruscans, perhaps exclusively for ritual texts, though according to Livy the early records of the Roman kings were kept on linen rolls. Lead was used mostly in single sheets, for maledictions and charms, but a leaden roll of Psalm 80 in Greek was found at Rhodes; and Pausanias tells us that he saw a leaden document containing Hesiod's *Works and Days* at Helicon.[25] Bark, especially the inner bark of the lime-tree, was used at Rome until it was displaced by papyrus, probably fairly late in the second century B.C. when Rome came into commercial relations with Egypt; the Latin word *liber* continued to mean both "bark" and "book." There is no evidence for the use of this material

[24] *History*, V, 58. [25] IX, xxxi, 4.

in the Greek world. None of these materials enters seriously into consideration for publishing purposes, however widely they may have been used for business documents, state records, the making of private copies, or the inscription of magical or religious texts. For publication through the medium of the book, papyrus holds the field without a serious rival until it yields the supremacy to vellum.

The name vellum is properly applied only to parchment of the finer grades, but the words have come to be used indiscriminately. The earliest sample of this material is a fragment found at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, dated in the year 195 B.C. It is of sufficiently good fabrication to indicate that the manufacturer had the benefit of some considerable experience with the process of preparing it, so that we are fully justified in placing its introduction somewhere in the third century B.C.[26] Properly speaking, it is not so much a new invention as the refinement of a very old material. Like leather, which had been in use as a writing material for many centuries, it was made from skins; the novelty consisted essentially in so preparing them that the hair side as well as the flesh side was made capable of receiving the writing; incidentally, it was thus made supple and light and far more beautiful. It may have been used for the making of books in Pergamum and the neighbourhood when papyrus was not readily available, but for several centuries after its introduction it was regarded as inferior to papyrus and was used chiefly for purposes for which a cheaper writing material was adequate.

Papyrus was an Egyptian product, and was in use as a writing material in Egypt from at least the third millenium. It was made from the pith of a tall reed which then grew in great profusion in the swamps of the Nile valley. Its manufacture was a royal monopoly, as appears from the name, which means "royal" in Egyptian (Coptic). The pith of the reed was cut into strips, which were laid vertically on a board to form a sheet; over this, a similar sheet of shorter strips was laid horizontally. This latter side was meant to receive the writing, which was done along the line of the fibres; it is therefore called the recto; but the verso could also be used. In business documents, written on a single sheet, the body of the document is usually found on the recto, and the verso contains only a note of the contents, for filing purposes. In the roll, the writing as a rule appears only on the one side; but rolls written on both sides are not unknown. The roll was made by gluing together as many sheets as the scribe required for his immediate purpose, and the writing was done in narrow columns parallel to the axis of the roll. Greek literary papyri were seldom written on rolls of more than

[26]The story that it was first introduced by Eumenes II of Pergamum when Egypt put an embargo on the export of papyrus to him (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XIII, 11, 21) is thus shown to be apocryphal. As it is reported on the authority of Varro, however, it at least shows that in the first century B.C., Pergamum was known at Rome as the chief centre of manufacture of this material. The name *pergamēnē* (Latin, *pergamena*) is not found until the beginning of the fourth century A.D., when it occurs in one of the price-fixing edicts of Diocletian.

thirty-five feet in length; the average height is about ten inches, though occasional documents show a variation from as low as two inches to as high as thirteen inches; the individual sheet is usually under nine inches in width, and in a good document the columns are from two to three inches wide. Egyptian rolls, not intended for reading but for burial with the dead in the tomb, run to much greater dimensions, frequently to a length of over one hundred feet.

VIII. Transition to the Codex

The codex was used in book-production at Rome in the last decades of the first century A.D., for the making of cheap editions; for the better merchandise, the roll was still preferred.[27] Fragments of codices of the second and third centuries have been found in Egypt, bearing the text of various Greek authors, but they are generally of far inferior workmanship to the rolls of the same period, and many of them seem to be written by private persons for their own use, not by professional scribes. Recent discoveries have shown, however, that in Christian circles the codex had already supplanted the roll even for the finest productions of the scribe.[28] Extant Christian manuscripts of the third century include four times as many codices as rolls, while among manuscripts of pagan authors ascribed to the same century, rolls outnumber codices almost fifteen to one. Fragments from the second century are too few in number to justify us in drawing conclusions with any finality, but the Chester Beatty codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy, written in the middle of that century, is of such magnificence as to suffice of itself to prove that in Christian circles the new form of book was already solidly established for all purposes.

In the codex, the sheets are put together as in the modern book. One or more sheets—in one case as many as fifty-two—were folded down the middle to form a quire, and the scribe wrote on both sides of the pages. The large quire would form a complete book in itself; the smaller, usually consisting of four sheets (eight folios, or sixteen pages), would be joined with others by sewing, to form a volume of the size which the scribe required for his immediate task. When vellum was used, the entire skin would be folded upon itself, once or twice, so that in a vellum codex, flesh side faces flesh side, and hair side faces hair side throughout. Earlier still, a sort of primitive codex was formed by joining tablets of wood or of lead,

[27]Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 3; XIV, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192. There is room for argument over the significance of these epigrams, but it seems most likely that they refer to cheap "pocket" editions of the authors named, while for good editions the papyrus roll was used.

[28]The latest and most complete survey of the extant documents is given by H. A. Sanders, in his presidential address to the American Philological Association, printed in the *Michigan Alumni Quarterly Review* under the title "The Beginnings of the Modern Book" (February, 1938, 95-111); see especially 109; and cf. the discussions in E. J. Goodspeed, *Christianity Goes to Press*, New York, 1940, 67ff.; F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, 95ff.; and the article by C. C. McCown in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIV, 1941, 220-50, entitled "Codex and Roll in the New Testament."

or separate sheets of leather or of papyrus, by piercing holes near the edges and linking them by rings or thongs, in the fashion of a loose-leaf notebook. Codices of this type were used for legal and business documents and for the actual work of literary composition long before they were adopted for the publication of books.

The transition from the roll to the codex had important effects upon the publication of works of literature, chiefly in that it was feasible by the use of the codex to publish all the writings of an author in a single book, whereas a work of any length would require a number of rolls. The division of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into twenty-four books each, for instance, corresponds to a division into portions capable of being included in a single roll; a complete edition of the works of Homer undoubtedly took the form of a collection of forty-eight rolls. Each book of Plato's *Republic*, or of Thucydides, represents an amount of writing that would fill a roll of about the standard length, thirty to thirty-five feet. Any longer roll was too cumbrous for ordinary use, and even this was inconveniently long to unroll if one merely wished to consult one or two specific passages rather than to read the whole book. The Gospel according to St. Matthew would alone require an entire roll; while one of the Beatty codices contained the four Gospels and the book of Acts, and another the collected epistles of St. Paul; and the fourth century witnessed the production of a large number of very fine codices which contained the whole of the Greek Bible, both Old Testament and New, plus several books of Apocrypha.

The fine codices of the Beatty group[29] clearly represent an advanced stage in the history of Christian publication, which is directly related to the tendency towards canonization of the "apostolic" writings which set in towards the middle of the second century. As slave labour was frequently used for the copying of manuscripts, and Christianity counted among its adherents numerous slaves, the Church may well have been able to command workmanship of the highest quality from the outset; but it would hardly have abandoned the roll for the codex until some other factor came into play. The Epistles, which were in essence private letters of a particular type, were undoubtedly written on sheets or rolls of papyrus like any other letters. The two volumes *Ad Theophilum* (the third Gospel and the Book of Acts) are a single work of some literary pretensions, the two parts corresponding to the two rolls which were required. If the work had been published in codex form, there would have been no need to divide it in two, and the unity of this earliest Christian history-book would not have been concealed and impaired as it has been. It is probable that the other Gospels were also published on rolls in the first instance,[30] for each is short

[29]F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, Fasciculi I to VII (London, 1933-8).

[30]Sanders and McCown, in the articles cited above, argue that the early Christians used codices from the first, rather than rolls. But the author of Luke-Acts specifically calls his first volume a roll, *biblion* (Acts 1: 1); and wherever else a "book" is mentioned

enough to find place in a single roll of ordinary dimensions, and as long as they circulated separately, there would be little impulse towards publication in a codex. But when the Church began to segregate certain of its writings and to treat them as "canonical," on a par with the Old Testament Scriptures, there would be an obvious advantage in grouping them between the covers of a single book. For such a purpose, only the codex would serve. A roll of the four Gospels would require to be well over a hundred feet in length, and a roll of the ten Pauline Epistles which were included in the earliest collections would be nearly eighty feet long; whereas either of these groups could be put into a codex of convenient dimensions. When Justin Martyr speaks of the "Memoirs of the Apostles, which are called Gospels,"[31] shortly after the middle of the second century, he may very well have had in mind a papyrus codex which contained them all. Certainly, before the end of the century, the collected Gospels and the collected Epistles of St. Paul were available in this form, and some churches may even have had a codex containing the whole of the New Testament. It may certainly be affirmed that the substitution of the codex for the roll in ancient publication was a direct result of the peculiar circumstances and needs of the Christian Church.

Summary

In sum, then, it would appear that in the ancient civilizations of the Near East works of literature of every kind received publication chiefly by the human voice, until well on into the first millenium B.C., and books were written, not for publication, but for the purpose of preserving documents, or for the assistance of professional reciters by whom they were communicated to the general public, or (in Egypt) to make them available to the dead. The book makes its first appearance as a medium of publication in Israel, in the eighth century B.C., as the device to which a preacher of radical social reform has recourse when he is denied the freedom of public proclamation; and even then it is of limited scope and usefulness. For another three hundred years, the normal method of publication continues to be oral recitation; few books were published as books, and those few had a limited circulation. Until late in the fifth century, there is no further development of importance to be observed anywhere; but about that time, in the cultural forcing-house of the Greek city-states, especially in Athens, writers on various subjects begin to have a limited recourse to publication by means of the book, though it remains secondary to oral publication. Early in the fourth century, a book-trade develops with overseas ramifi-

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in the New Testament, it is perfectly clear that a roll is meant, not a codex. The argument for Christian use of the codex in the first century boils down to a syllogism of doubtful worth: Codices were cheap, and were used for non-literary purposes; Christians were poor and cared not a fig for literature; therefore the Christians wrote their books on codices. Unfortunately, whenever they tell us what they were using, they say that it was a roll!

[31] Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, LXVI.

cations, but publication is still largely dependent upon the more or less haphazard initiative of interested individuals, and is often done by the employment of the author's own slaves. In the second half of the century, however, and especially in the closing decades thereof, after the conquests of Alexander, books are multiplied and a commerce in them is developed on an increasing scale to meet the demands of public and private libraries and of the philosophical schools; and in response to the desires of a considerable body of individuals in all parts of the Hellenic world, now extending from Sicily to the Indus and from the Sahara to the plains of South Russia, who have developed habits of private reading. All through the Hellenistic age and in the early centuries of the Roman Empire, the business of book-publication flourishes and assumes a larger and larger place in the general fabric of culture. In Christian circles, from the end of the first century, the published book acquires a central and determining significance both for the internal development of the religion and for its propagation; new methods of book-manufacture are devised by Christian scribes and large scriptoria are created for the multiplication of Christian manuscripts. By the end of the fourth century the functions and facilities of book-publishing have fallen almost entirely into Christian hands, and from then until the introduction of printing, the transmission of ancient literature and the production and publication of current literature are almost wholly dependent upon the monasteries.

TRENDS IN CANADIAN ART

JOHN ALFORD

THE question of the kind and value of the relation of Canadian art and culture to the art and culture which impinge on the consciousness of Canadians from without the borders of Canada has been discussed intermittently and with varying bias since the speeches of Lord Lorne in 1879 and 1880 advocating and commemorating the foundation of the Royal Academy. An initial willing cultural tutelage gave way to a period of increasingly assertive national independence in the first decades of the present century, when the still outstanding work of Canadian art was accomplished. The issue continues in hot debate, particularly "on the air," with the assumption that, in contrast to the nature of scientific, technical, and economic trends, which no one supposes can or should be peculiar to Canada or uniquely Canadian, art *should* be in some way uniquely representative or expressive of a Canadian spirit, and that what it derives from circumstances that are not peculiarly Canadian is inimical to the development of a genuinely Canadian culture.

The purpose of the present review of the development of Canadian art is not to enter this debate with argument or judgment on one side or the other, but rather to shift its grounds. Much of the following analysis, indeed, will confirm a foreign cultural derivation, now and in the past. What this argument proposes is rather to give the relation a different significance from that of mere colonialism; to suggest that the colonial issue is, in fact, as culturally as it is politically obsolete, and that the vital question is no longer (if, indeed, it ever was) between the preservation of one sort of stable, parental, but geographically foreign culture, or the development of a local, autonomous, and idiosyncratic Canadianism, but between relative speeds of change on both sides of the Atlantic, between rates of development of, and choices in, adaptation to circumstances that are new and common to European and Canadian cultures alike.

Apart from the crafts of Quebec, Canadian art, as the product of men bred in Canada, or at least Canadianly domesticated, emerges in the second half, indeed hardly before the last quarter, of the nineteenth century. It is inevitably the art of men who, though their interest is in the quality of their own lands and lives, mould both their ideas and their techniques on traditions and procedures assimilated from elsewhere. However they acquired their methods, their art is modelled on the romantic naturalism of early nineteenth-century Europe, a tradition shaped in its origin by a reaction from the restrictive academic and courtly rituals of the princely seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and subsequently from the sordid monotony and aesthetic brutality of early industrialism. Canada in 1850 had little of either, though Berthon's portraits of W. H. Boulton, Mayor

of Toronto for several years in the forties, and squire of the Grange, where the painting still hangs, and of Sir John Beverley Robinson in the library of Osgoode Hall, are in the continuing tradition of van Dyck, Largillière, and Lawrence. The courtly tradition was stronger in Catholic Quebec, where a genuine baroque style in ecclesiastical sculpture and decorative art survived to the end of the century. Nevertheless, this lingering survival apart, the romantic naturalism of England, France, and Germany, became the romantic naturalism of Canada, because, at the moment when Canadian artists emerged as a class distinct from travelling commentators and native traditional craftsmen, romantic naturalism was the dominant imaginative mode of Western civilization, of which Canada is a younger son.

"Nature" in this view is a vast spirit of ideal integrity and freedom, beneficent and noble even in its apparent cruelty, and source of a spectacular drama which it is the artist's duty humbly to record and interpret. Krieghoff (1812-72) and, later, Jacobi (1812-1901) bring the tradition from Germany; Kane (1810-71) and a dozen lesser painters import it from England. Homer Watson (1855-1936), for all his love for, and intimacy with, rural Ontario, learns to see with the realist-romantic eyes of Constable and Theodore Rousseau.

Again, in ideal contrast with both princes and industrialists, romanticism extolls the characters on the one hand of the heroic individual, and on the other of the unlettered peasant. Here again Krieghoff and Kane, though realists rather than romantics, are true to the prevalent cultural ideal. The hero, favourite theme of French romanticism from David to Delacroix and Rude, is extolled more explicitly and with characteristic rhetoric, by Philippe Hébert (1850-1917) in the monument to Maisonneuve in Montreal. The noble peasant of Millet and Troyon becomes the noble peasant of Horatio Walker (1858-1938) in the Isle d'Orléans. What the critics of this European derivation tend to forget is that the Canadian artist in these instances was tied not simply to a geographically foreign ideal, but (more inevitably) to the culturally dominant imaginative mode of his time.

By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, courtly boredom and the despotic rule of princes were no longer vital cultural irritants in Western Europe or North America. Moreover, the dividends of industrialism were sufficiently widely distributed to render primitive rusticity a lost cause, and even to invest mechanical industry itself with an aura of the picturesque. Heroic or romantic naturalism gave way in Europe to a sort of impressionistic epicureanism which differed from classical epicureanism in its assumption that the gods offered fruits of delight on every bush and we need only open our eyes to select the riper berries and our mouths to the sweeter tastes.

This is the era of impressionism in painting, of aestheticism, and of Art for Art's Sake. The artist is no longer required to think: indeed, it is preferable that he should not even *feel* too profoundly. He need only

discriminate, record, and combine sensations, tasting the immediate quality of selected visual experience, as a gourmet tastes selected food and wine. *Light*, Monet is reported to have said, is the first personage of a picture, and *colour* the means both of description and expression. Experience is an evanescent pattern of sensations, and the artist merely a person endowed with a specially sensitive sensory apparatus and a facility in swift record. Denounced and derided at its inception, impressionism in both its technical and its cultural essentials, its somewhat superficial epicureanism and its subordination of meaning to effect, by the time of the first World War had become the academic standard of Europe, especially in its more descriptive use of clear contrasted colours in rendering the quality of concentrated or diffused sunlight.

For the more materially and practically minded peoples of North America, grappling to dominate an intractable continent that still invaded the front-room window, the abstract aesthetics of impressionism, its play on pure sensory quality, apart from quality of meaning, had slower appeal. For this reason this was also the era of artistic emigration, when the Whistlers, the Sargents, the Morrices of the United States and Canada, did not merely seek temporary technical training but permanent aesthetic refuge in the cultured havens of London and Paris.

Nevertheless, in the aspects just noted, the impressionist procedure was adopted in due course as the appropriate descriptive apparatus of the Canadian landscape. Familiarized by Maurice Cullen (1868-1934) it affected even the later work of Homer Watson. J. W. Morrice (1865-1924) and Clarence Gagnon (1881-1942) during their visits to Canada made decorative adaptations of it, and the most recently elected Canadian Academician, Manly MacDonald, is among the ablest of its purer practitioners today (Figure 1). The annual exhibitions of the more conservative societies are still largely composed of technical exercises in more or less impressionistic observation and handling, while portraiture, the least inspired of contemporary arts throughout the world, clings still closer to a literal descriptive realism.

The relation of impressionism to the record of experience, combined with the sensuous appeal of its bright colours and its effectiveness in the description of sunlight, made it a particularly appropriate artistic fashion for the decades immediately preceding and following the first World War; decades when, for increasing numbers of people, the economic millenium seemed just around the corner. Even as early as the eighteen-eighties, however, its visual superficiality, its concern, that is to say, with surfaces as reflecting areas of coloured light, rather than as the formal boundaries of functional things; together with its moral and intellectual superficiality, its concern with effect rather than significance or meaning; even as early as the eighteen-eighties these qualities and limitations had been called in question in France by a new generation of sensitive and creative artists,

just when the older prejudiced objections were everywhere giving way to acclaim.

Among the group of individuals now referred to as *post-Impressionists* there was never either a common doctrine or a common manner, but in each a deliberate modification of impressionist techniques of colour to more profoundly interpretative purposes and deeply considered ends. Seurat, for good or ill, attempted to devise a system of representation and expression which could be learned as a universal formal grammar of painting. To him, in fact, was due most of the theory of the division of tones, and the practice of painting in dots of pigment of equal size and calculated tonality which the earlier Impressionists had developed less systematically and adopted in varying degrees. Cézanne, though he never used the word "symbol," revived the conception and practice of art as the creation of a symbolic order, an order of forms and colours analogous to, and derived from, that of the natural world, expressing its essential and enduring geometric and organic structure and also its sensory glory, but not imitating its specific forms or appearances. Gauguin, learning first from Cézanne's simplification and solidification of impressionism, and then turning (like so many nineteenth-century artistic and social reformers) to medieval symbolism, revived the use of clear, even harsh contours to define his resonantly coloured symbols, like the copper cloisons of a Limoges enamel or the leads of medieval glass. Van Gogh, learning from all these, and above all from the art of the Japanese, the most prolific source of all the modifications of visual realism in late nineteenth-century painting, developed an unsurpassed power of emotional expression in rhythmic contours and clear massed colours.

All this was before 1890, in the work of men hardly known to the public for another twenty years. But in the meantime, Toulouse Lautrec popularized the art of contour and colour in a series of brilliant posters, which, fused with the long graceful lines of English decorative pre-Raphaelitism, provided the basis of international *Art Nouveau* and of popular decoration and commercial art from 1890 till after the first World War.

This was the decorative commercial style practised in the Grip Studio in Toronto, the effective training ground of Tom Thomson and the technical birth-place of the Group of Seven. The *spiritual* birth-place was the lake district of northern Ontario (a *Solemn Land*, to give it J. E. H. Macdonald's title), and the shores of Georgian Bay, where "you can feel yourself on the backbone of the world" (I quote the most happily indicative phrase of an early associate of the Group). The romantic spirit was reborn on Canadian soil of Canadian spiritual parentage, though the mid-wifery was a European technique (Figure 2).

What matters more, I think, was that it was a great theme, profoundly felt and grandly expressed. It was, in fact, too grand and too austere an art, for all its battery of sombre colour, to win easy recognition. Moreover, it flouted too usually and too drastically the common man's understanding

of art as verisimilitude, an understanding which has already changed to the extent of placing Thomson's "Northern River" among the most ballotted pictures in a recent exhibition of "Great Paintings" at the Art Gallery of Toronto, and of investing both Dr. Lismer and Dr. Jackson with academic honours. This question of the relation of the creative artist to contemporary popular taste is one to which I shall return.

The influence of the Group of Seven has been pervasive and mostly beneficial, but one problem in Canadian taste it did very little to solve. The stimulus to nineteenth-century romantic naturalism, following on the eighteenth-century rebellion against a courtly and intellectual regulation, was, it will be remembered, a reaction from the sordidness of early urban industrialism. The vastness and spiritual self-realization of nature was extolled in implied contrast with the littleness and self-frustration of civilization. It is difficult not to see in the birth of a native Canadian nature-romanticism the same implication, and the same reflection on developing economic and social conditions in Canada.

We have now arrived, in this survey, at the immediate present, where the distinction of trends becomes more difficult because of the closeness of the perspective and the variety of contemporary tastes. I have already remarked on the general survival and popularization of impressionistic tendencies and techniques of various kinds, and that the influence of the Group of Seven continues as a sort of Canadian post-impressionism. The technical and imaginative derivation of European post-impressionism stretches from one end of the Dominion to the other and has not always travelled *via* the Group.

The early paintings of Emily Carr, in British Columbia, are thoroughly local in subject, but show all the signs, in broken tonalities and a sort of immediacy of visual record, of impressionist training. A middle period, during which her forms were broadly massed and simplified and she developed a marked interest in formal symbols of deeply felt significance, suggests a new familiarity with the Tahitian and Marquesan paintings of Gauguin, a likely sympathy by reason of Miss Carr's own long sympathetic familiarity with the art and culture of West Coast Indians. The symbolic character of her interests was given expression both in her paintings of the formal symbols of the Indians, and in the invention of powerfully rhythmic and sombre forest-symbols of her own. Her last group of paintings, however, has developed a much freer expressionistic handling or calligraphy, and revived a measure of visual immediacy which reminds one rather of van Gogh, but which has, I think, no specific derivation except in the long experience and deep feeling of the artist herself (Figure 3).

What Miss Carr has done for the shores and forests of British Columbia, Carl Schaeffer is on the way to do for the arable lands of southern Ontario. Here again I could suggest a number of contributing studies of the work of older artists. What is important is the integrity and authenticity of the eventual personal vision, and its power of evoking a sense of the essential

character of one sort of Canadian scene. Though the human figure is almost universally absent in Mr. Schaeffer's work, it is always present by implication. Man has been there and will be there again. Nevertheless, it is still, I think, dehumanized nature which provides the theme; nature which suffers mankind with majestic fortitude and patience, in the certainty of final victory, rather than mankind in enjoyment of, or even in collaboration with, nature.

David Milne, though his serene and humane art and his calligraphic style are less touched with the prevailing intellectualism, might also be classed as a Canadian post-Impressionist. With a technique simplified almost to attenuation in a pattern of etched, drawn, or painted lines amplified with areas of solid black and a few simple but subtle colours, he suggests a wooded landscape, the interior of a living-room, a bunch of flowers, or a corner of an Ontario city, with an atmosphere of quiet domesticity rare indeed in contemporary Canadian art. In New Brunswick, Jack Humphreys, on the other hand, paints a similar variety of subjects with a more patent debt to, and almost the detachment of, Cézanne.

Anyone who looks to art for a reminiscence of the winter week-end or summer vacation, or for entertainment, or for evidence of material and social prestige (and these are all common services rendered by painting) clearly will find it with difficulty among the painters we have just been considering. What a chronicler is bound to record as a universally increasing condition of art during the past three-quarters of a century, is a lack of common interest between the public which looks to pictures for the more robust and earthy human interests, and the artist sensitively endowed in interpretative imagination or in expressive craftsmanly skill.

Apart from the recent stimulus of the war, it has only occasionally been possible to find in the annual exhibitions a subject of obvious and not unhappy human interest sensitively imagined and sensitively made—an uncommissioned portrait by Paraskeva Clark, a figure by Prudence Heward (Figure 4), a rural or urban *genre* scene by Henri Masson (Figure 5). At a recent exhibition of the Canadian Society of Painters in Watercolour, the increase of direct human interest was particularly marked, in notable work by Caven Atkins, Louis Muhlstock, W. A. Winter, and a number of others. But in general, the painters of imaginative and craftsmanly integrity (those, that is, who make the lines, forms, values, and colours of their design, a means of expression, not simply of description or decoration) have been more or less dislocated in their art, whatever they may be in their personal relationships, from the functional and social life of the society they live in.

This is not specifically a Canadian condition, but it is not absent in Canada. Both in Toronto and Montreal the melancholy disillusion of the early work of Picasso is reflected in the work of some of the ablest of expressive figure-draughtsmen, John Lyman, Goodrich Roberts, and even more strongly, Jack Nicholls. Moreover, the concern of contemporary European and American artists with the exploitation of pure abstract

means of expression, or the reduction of the reference to natural form to the most abstract of formal symbols, has already been paralleled in Canada. Lawren Harris, an original member of the Group of Seven, and a painter, for a time, of the far north and the Arctic, subsequently for a number of years produced nothing but studies in pure form reminiscent of Plato's famous saying about absolute beauty, while a more recent stimulus to the development of non-objective painting has been given by the presence in the United States of members of the Bauhaus group, erstwhile founders of the strongest and most influential school of design in terms of scientific technology and scientific-philosophic, not liberal-humanistic, romanticism. Indeed, in Quebec, the non-representational painting of Alfred Pellan, "le premier peintre canadien-français," as has been said of him, "à ne pas cacher son admiration pour Picasso, Matisse, Braque et Dufy," has recently had noteworthy critical and public support (Figure 6).

Here, obviously, is art totally unintelligible in kind to any contemporary public, without special preparation. Not only must there be a discard of all popular notions of art as the imitation of the appearance of natural objects pleasant or interesting for one reason or another, while an alternative and more difficult conception is acquired of art as an expressive formal and sensual language; but the ideas and kinds of ideas the artist is concerned to express must also be familiarized, if his accompanying quality of feeling is not to be met by a barrier of mere intellectual frustration.

I do not think there is any very obvious answer to the question whether "non-objective" art can ever become a matter of public concern. Medieval art and some renaissance art is compact with this sort of abstract aesthetic and pseudo-philosophic implication. Indeed, in the length and breadth of the history of culture, art is certainly as near to this in method and quality as it is to the closely imitative and descriptive procedures to which our society is accustomed. But it *is* accustomed to them, and whatever development in habit or understanding may eventually take place, I feel safe in prophesying that a highly abstract and pseudo-philosophic art will remain only the private interest or the cult of a small minority for a long time to come. This is no disparagement of its pursuit. The same limitation applies to the pursuit of philosophy in its stricter conceptual disciplines, but few people who think at all think the worse of philosophy for that.

Nevertheless, the view of the "average man" that art *ought* to be intelligible to him has this much of justification. If it is publicly exhibited he regards it as a public utterance, and he assumes that, as art, it is an expression primarily of feeling, and that public utterances of feeling are matters of public concern. If the significance of the utterance is completely unintelligible, he regards it either as a challenge to his intelligence, which he resents, or as an emotional abnormality open to public suspicion. And he is right to the extent that art *has*, throughout recorded history, been primarily a matter of public expression and communication of common

beliefs and emotional attitudes; it has, historically, been a means of cultural unification and (in a perfectly legitimate sense) of propaganda. Great societies, perhaps *all* societies prior to the nineteenth century, have utilized their artists in that manner, partly as skilled technicians in the public expression of pre-ordained ideas and sentiments, partly as people of special sensibility and imaginative insight who can aid in the interpretation of the universe to mankind and of mankind to himself. It is as seers and interpreters of this kind that we still admire and study the "old masters," between whom and the societies they lived in there was seldom the barrier we are accustomed to associate today with the vitally creative artist.

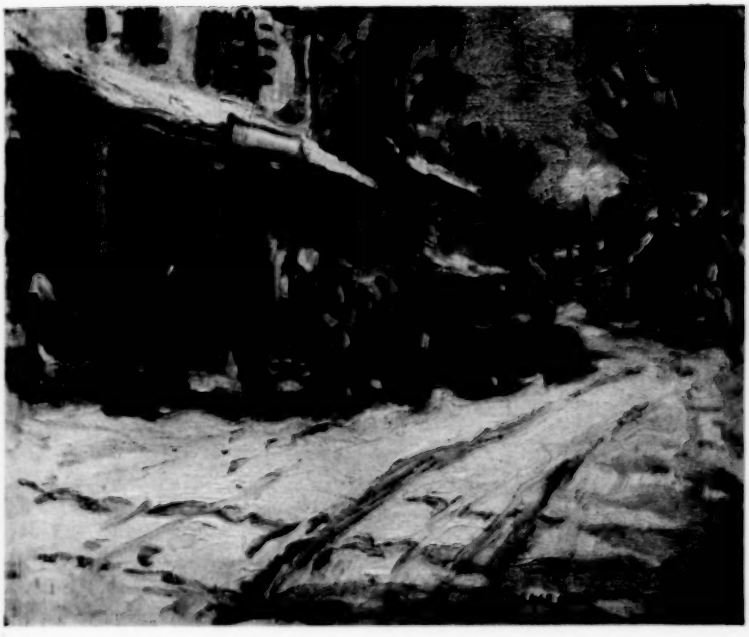
The reasons for the decline in the public patronage of the Fine Arts are complex, and merit more careful study than has been given them. The most obvious reason is in the character of the commercial democracy of the nineteenth century, with its policies of laissez-faire and public retrenchment, its concentration on numerical quantity rather than on quality, and its loss of trained sensibility to materials and to expressive technique in the substitution of machine production for handicraft. It did not greatly want artists and began by creating a world from which the artist, and his patron out of working hours, turned in disgust, as we have already noticed. It ended by not recognizing the born artist when it met him.

Some of these governing conditions have now ceased to hold good. The democratic state does not yet much utilize its artists except in times of revolution; but Big Business begins to do so and for more significant purposes than the packaging of its goods. What sort or sorts of world the artist sees in these circumstances we shall examine in a moment. The loss of a universal sense of expressive handicraft, such as governed both the making and the selection of all artefacts in the pre-industrial age, paintings and sculptures included, first produced a drastic deterioration in the general level of technical artistry, the natural and imperative artist thus being, as we have seen, spiritually segregated from his society. More recently it has resulted, for the purposes of public art, in the development of mechanical styles of technique, in the creation of precise images of clear meaning and impressively simple design. Fifty years ago the dependence of public style on anything else than the classic humanistic tradition, in one or other of its many phases, would have seemed unthinkable, though Seurat had already adapted the mechanical simplifications and patterned forms of Egyptian art to contemporary painting. Today, "stylization," meaning the imposition of a mechanical pattern onto organic and human form, is the common mode of monumental and architectural sculpture, and the derivations from Egypt and Assyria are almost as frequent as those from archaic Greece or Romanesque Christendom.

Early in this essay I commented on the romantic naturalism of monumental sculpture of the nineteenth century. Let us see what has been produced in kinds of public sculpture and painting since.

In sculpture, romantic naturalism was carried over well into the present century, in some quarters, indeed, almost into the present decade. Its continuation and modification can be seen in the work of Walter Allward, from the rather commonplace naturalism of the South African War Memorial in Toronto to the more abstract expressionism of the huge Canadian War Memorial on Vimy Ridge, or the more recent monument to William Lyon Mackenzie in Queen's Park, Toronto (Figure 7). The stress on the expression of immediate emotion rather than on precision of form, the deliberate preservation of an effect of improvisation, are the reverse of "stylization"; they are characteristics of the expressionist movement which developed in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century as a renewed insistence on the value of personal feeling and intensity of emotion against the claims of "good form" (in both an artistic and a social sense) or traditional rule (see also Figure 6). As extreme examples of the opposing tendency to impose a geometric order, angular or curvilinear, onto organic form, I might cite the extensive series of reliefs on the new Central Station of the Canadian National Railway in Montreal, those on the exterior being from the designs of Fritz Brandtner and Charles Comfort, those on the interior from designs by Charles Comfort alone (Figure 8*a*). The latter constitute an exposition of the main factors and features of Canadian economic, social, and cultural life, types of occupations being represented by clearly contoured, simple but massive figures arranged in expressive postures and groupings within an imaginary rectilinear framework, and associated with symbols of functional occupations, like the emblems of Egyptian and medieval art. Here the stress of purpose is on the expression of well-ordered idea and function rather than of immediate emotion, though the expressive power and coherence of the design accords with the didactic purpose of the reliefs. Though the traditions of naturalism are very strong in Canada, examples of the same tendency in sculpture to impose, in varying degree, a quasi-mechanical design onto representations of living forms could be quoted from the more recent work of Florence Wyle, Frances Loring, Elizabeth Wood, and Jacobine Jones, and from a score of prominent architectural and monumental sculptors in Europe and the United States. Once more we seem to be confronted with the crucial problem of modern culture: the preservation of the autonomy and integrity of the individual against the pressures of the codes and disciplines by which the enabling structure of a complex society functions.

The public use of painting in Canada has been even more sporadic and tentative than that of sculpture. Over a period of forty years the list of accomplishments is a meagre one: three or four series of murals by George Reid in various public buildings of Toronto; a rare decoration for a hotel or place of entertainment in one of the principal cities of the Dominion (such work being too often contracted to an American firm of commercial decorators); Charles Comfort's panels in the Toronto Stock Exchange (Figure 8*b*), (where the analytically curious may find influences of both the



Courtesy of Rous and Mann

FIGURE 1

THE CORNER STORE by MANLY MACDONALD

Courtesy of Rous and Mann

FIGURE 2

SEPTEMBER GALE by ARTHUR LISMER

Courtesy of the artist and the Macmillan Company of Canada

FIGURE 3

BRITISH COLUMBIA LANDSCAPE by EMILY CARR

Courtesy of the artist and
H. S. Southam, Esq.

FIGURE 4

THE FARM-HOUSE WINDOW by PRUDENCE HEWARD

Courtesy of the artist and
J. S. McLean, Esq.

FIGURE 5

COUNTRY DANCE by HENRI MASSON

Courtesy of the artist

FIGURE 6

COMPOSITION by ALFRED PELLAN

FIGURE 7

MONUMENT TO WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE, Queen's Park, Toronto
(detail) by WALTER ALLWARD

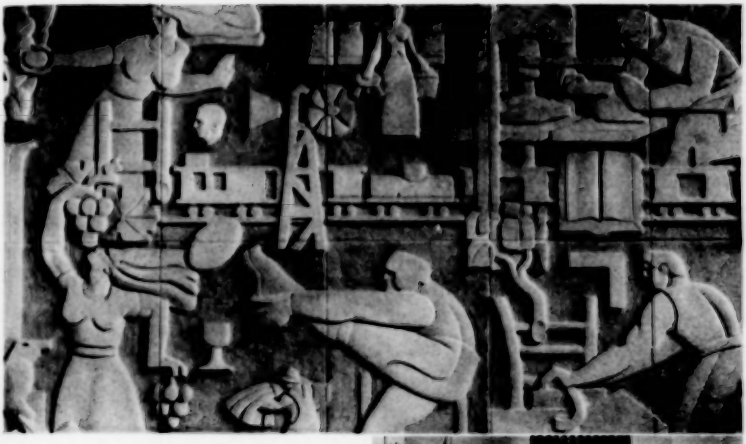


FIGURE 8*a*

Relief-mural (detail), Central Station, Canadian National Railway, Montreal.

CHARLES COMFORT

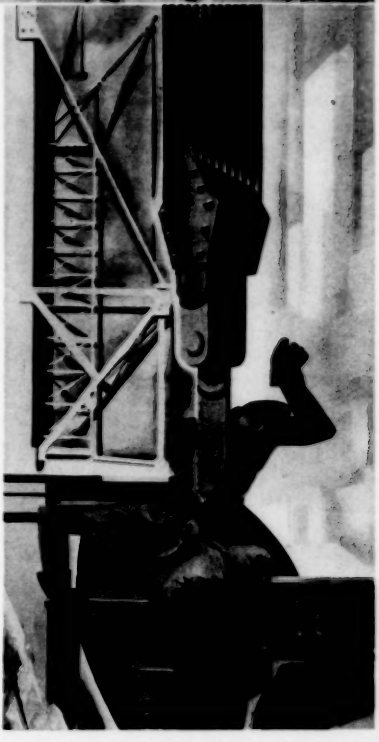


FIGURE 8*b*

"Building Construction" (detail), Mural, Stock Exchange, Toronto.

American, Thomas Hart Benton, and the Frenchman, Fernand Leger, and perhaps of the renaissance Italian, Signorelli); the murals of Will Ogilvie in the chapel of Hart House in the University of Toronto, of Pegi Nichol MacLeod in the Vocational High School of Woodstock, N.B., and of Marian Scott in the Medical School of McGill University. Nor is the slightness of accomplishment due to lack of talent (the didactic murals in St. Anne's Church in Toronto, and the framed canvases on the walls of Hart House, bear splendid witness to the monumental and decorative qualities of the painting of the Group of Seven), but to lack of interest, discrimination, and courage on the part of the public bodies who are the potential patrons. But small as this quantity is, the same trends as we have noticed in public sculpture can be seen here also, the post-impressionist development of symbolic and expressive form and design, at the expense of imitative realism, being particularly adapted to the purposes of a public expository art.

The public patronage of art, which (apart from trade advertising) the commercial conditions of peace did so little to encourage, has received a new impetus and provided a new opportunity in the social consciousness of war. Whereas in the war of 1914-18 a very piecemeal and inadequate record of Canada's fighting contribution was made only through the initiative of Lord Beaverbrook, in the present war the activities of each fighting service are being recorded by a number of artist-officers, commissioned on the advice of a committee appointed by the National Gallery of Canada. Many of the artists already mentioned here are now engaged on this work with the forces overseas, though nothing of their resulting work has yet (November, 1944) been exhibited in Canada.

The same committee of the National Gallery, with the financial aid of a number of sponsors, has also issued a series of silk-screen prints reproducing paintings of Canadian scenes by prominent Canadian artists, most of the pictures having been specially painted for the purpose and in accordance with the technical limitations of reproduction. Originally intended to decorate the messes of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, the prints have had an enthusiastic reception from a wider public and are now being made available to educational institutions throughout the Dominion. They should do much to raise the standard of public taste and to establish the visual arts more appropriately in the public mind as an essential part of Canadian culture.

One new technical means of crystallization of cultural attitudes and ideas yet remains to be mentioned. The moving picture has been developed in the United States predominantly as a means of entertainment; it is, in fact, the chief of social anodynes. But it is also being produced as a means of more serious public communication and more considered cultural influence. Hitherto, the graphic image (painting, drawing, or engraving) has been essentially static, though the suggestion of movement and process within a permanent and enduring order has been part of the essential function of most public art whether civil or religious). Precisely because of

the power of the older techniques to convey this suggestion of permanent pattern and stability, it does not seem to me likely that the moving image will ever completely replace them. Nevertheless, the essence of the matter of most teaching is active process rather than static condition. This is, I suppose, equally true of the natural sciences and of the social sciences, including history. What matters immediately, in each case, is an order of events, a process of change which is not easily illuminated by a static image or a static system of symbols. The realization of the universality of change (related or not to a more inclusive stability), and the importance of the development of the scientific study and control of process, is, I think, at least one of the major reasons for the decline in the use of didactic material imagery. But we can now demonstrate process with a perfectly controlled moving image, and, by direct photography or the use of animated symbolic cartoons and diagrams, illustrate concrete processes, such as that of an historical event, or abstract processes, such as those of scientific theory, with a facility which is only just beginning to be realized and exploited. This is not itself "art" in the sense of the expression and communication of feeling. But let the drama or the majesty of the beauty of the process be expressed in the controlled form and rhythm and colour of the images, and the work can become art in the strictest sense. Let the theme itself be one of universal significance and one can see an art as rich as the mosaics of Ravenna or the portals of Chartres in possible process of development. Those who saw the extraordinary clarity of exposition combined with sheer technical beauty and dramatic expressiveness of movement and colour devoted to a narrow theme of military strategy in Walt Disney's screen version of *Victory Through Air Power*, may have grasped the portentousness of a medium of public art in the course of development.

The establishment of the National Film Board of Canada shortly before the war was an event of the highest importance in the cultural history of the nation. Its director, John Grierson, came from Great Britain with an international fame as one of the creators of the documentary film. With the cultural characteristics of the later nineteenth century and the aesthetic dislocation of our own age presumably in mind, he is at some pains to avoid an identification of his procedures as "art," and to explain them as "public information." But perhaps enough has been said here about the public use of imagery in the exposition of themes of fundamental human concern, as a basis of vital art, to make the distinction seem a little local and arbitrary. To anyone familiar with the quality of Mr. Grierson's pre-war productions in England, it might even appear captious. His Canadian organization has hardly yet produced anything of the measure of those earlier, more personal achievements. The training of a productive and technical staff, combined with the rapid expansion in war-time of the Film Board's "market" in non-theatrical circuits of social, industrial, and rural organizations, has not lent itself to the development of superlative artistic standards. Here, nevertheless, is the popular didactic art from which may spring art that is at once fine and great, and there is at least

good evidence that the opportunity is not being overlooked. Canada is rich in potential themes, in peace as in war; it is itself an epic theme. John Grierson has proved himself in the past an epic director and Canada may well look for a repetition and enlargement of his art rather than for the establishment of a permanent bureau of official photographic information.

Neither the art of the documentary film nor that of the animated cartoon can be a completely and subtly personal one, for technical reasons. Compared with the freedom of drawing, photographic record is narrowly limited by the essentially mechanical elements of its process. The individuality of the animated cartoon, on the other hand, is limited by the necessary participation of a considerable number of draughtsmen in the repetition and animation of the varied cartoons. The process of production of either type of film is subdivided among a very large number of specialists and technical experts, the only reason for the mention of whom here is to stress the co-operative, and hence depersonalized nature of the art. Limitation of individuality is, however, of the essence of public art, a fact which led Tolstoy to label it all as "counterfeit," and to limit the conception of the legitimate art of the future to the untutored communication of personal experience on the part of non-professional artists.

The last fifty years have, in fact, seen the emergence into critical estimation of a large number of "self-taught" painters who have learned to express themselves for their own satisfaction, by a private study of the work of whatever other practitioners attracted them or was available, but without benefit of professional or academic training. Such a beginning, wherever it leads, is now almost characteristic of the "private" artist of exceptional sensibility. The two outstanding cases of men who subsequently achieved fame—the two whose careers have done most to establish the cult of the untutored, unspoilt artist—were van Gogh and the Douanier Rousseau. Here again we have a statement of the claims of individuality and native sensibility for freedom from the trammels of an over-intellectualized, over-mechanized culture. In Canada, the tendency to preserve a folk-art of painting comes, not unexpectedly, from the Province of Quebec, where a group of self-taught painters of rural genre scenes has recently been attracting a good deal of attention. How long their activity can resist, and the quality of their work survive, commercial exploitation as a specialty of the tourist trade still remains to be seen.

In Quebec also is the largest survival of non-industrialized craft, particularly of weaving, though the Canadian Handicrafts Guild now operates throughout the length and breadth of Canada. The preservation of handicraft has been the preoccupation of many artists and social reformers during the past century, not simply (though perhaps too frequently) out of sentimental attachment to a picturesque mode of life, but in a belief, muddled but I believe ultimately just, that some sort of complete, integrated, and autonomous activity is essential to the spiritual well-being of all people. We cannot, that is, disintegrate ourselves all the time as partial

humans in the service of any impersonal organization. A by-product of the handicraft movement in various parts of the world has been the establishment of appropriate standards of design also for the industrial arts, while discouraging any attempt to imitate the appearance of handicraft by mechanized industry. In association with any post-war industrial growth, a similar development may be expected in Canada.

The implications of this survey are, first, that the tensions which give character to Canadian art are by no means peculiar to Canada; that Canadian cultural problems are not merely local but are those of modern civilization; and, secondly, that present and future trends in Canadian art are inseparable from present and future developments in the structure of Canadian culture as a whole. By "as a whole," I mean that, though the techniques of industry and commerce have increasingly dominated men's minds for the past several centuries, and with particular force and rapidity during the past hundred and fifty years, they too are, in fact, only aspects or factors of a more inclusive culture, the total character of which is contributed to, expressed and reflected in and by other institutions, notably by systematized learning, art, and religion.

The habit of assuming a sort of economic determinism is very prevalent. Part of the assumption is that because the development of mechanical industry has involved the submergence of individuality in standard processes and the concentration of individual attention on a fraction of the potential field of human interest, this process is bound to continue and to increase in intensity. There seems little doubt that it will increase in intensity in Canada in the near future; that Canada, that is to say, has an immediate prospect of industrial development, and of a total economic activity more balanced between industry and agriculture, perhaps more self-contained than that to which it has been accustomed. Such a condition may make for diversity of human interest and for a closer possible approximation to individual fullness of life. But the dangers of unbalance in modern civilization have in general been in the direction of mechanized industrialization, with mechanized entertainment as an anodyne. I have neither the knowledge nor the brash courage to prophesy about the future of Canada in this regard. What I am sure of is that, in reliance on sources of modern technology, the future rests with the concerted will of the Canadian people, determined by basic human desires controlled in turn by experience and intelligence; and that among the foremost historic media of formulation and expression of such a concerted will are the arts. Nor is the present appearance of this survey in an academic publication without significance, for, though neither the final formulation nor the implementation of public policies is the function of universities, the comparative and integrated presentation of knowledge of what policies entail is in some degree their special responsibility. In both that academic and that functional integration, the arts of imagery are again and increasingly playing a part.

THE ENGLISH EDUCATION ACT OF 1944

ITS SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE

SIR FRED CLARKE

FOR an Englishman who has lived and worked in other lands long enough to have acquired the necessary degree of detachment there is peculiar fascination in observing the ways of this queer animal, the English people, in its native habitat. One is reminded so often of an elephant. There is the same lumbering, clumsy-looking strength, combined, on occasion, with a surprising capacity for delicate discrimination and subtle precision of action; the same air of placid unconcern concealing a sensitive alertness that can be so disconcerting to friend and foe alike; the same serviceableness and tractability in the long spells of quiescence, with the same implacable resolution in the briefer spells of vigorous action; and, one more elephantine trait, those strange hesitancies and delays preceding action, as though the creature were moved by reservations so subtle and deep-seated as to defy articulate expression.

Such is this ancient Jumbo among the nations. No English word is more expressive than that strange word "hunch." One might almost say that the Englishman doesn't think, he has hunches. A deal of nonsense is talked, even by the English themselves, about their being an illogical people. Sometimes this is true, but on such occasions they are usually being just plain stupid. But mostly, what is called illogicality is really the operation of the characteristic English hunch. This is, in fact, a deeper and more subtle logic, more pragmatic and less formal than the syllogistic procedures of the conscious logician. It springs undoubtedly from a rooted conviction, the fruit of long experience, that if you force reality too rigorously into the wire cages of verbal formula most of its vital juices are squeezed out and lost. The British Constitution, a system of unspoken understandings rather than of formulated provisions, is there as a monument to the trait. The working of the hunch is much more easily illustrated than described. A supreme example, decisive in its historic consequences, is seen in the events of May, 1940. For some time the elephant had been profoundly uneasy, and emitting premonitions of action. Then, sure of the approach of danger, with one shrug of its powerful shoulders it threw off the Chamberlain Government, with a sure swing of its trunk it picked up Winston Churchill and set him aloft, and then turned head-on to face the blast. Never has the English hunch meant so much for mankind. Contrast its operation with the tortuosities of the Nazi hyena!

This impression of the ways of the English animal has been given at the outset since without some insight into these ways it is impossible to understand what has been happening and what may yet happen in English education. In no field of English life and action is it more necessary that

he who would act with effect should study closely the peculiar processes of the hunch. For doctrinaires this is the frostiest and most unfruitful of lands, though many of them never succeed in grasping the fact. The statesman or reformer who achieves results does so because he has learned to accommodate his action to the generative processes of the hunch, to endure patiently the delays, hesitations, and apparent stupidities, to hold on in the assurance that an awakening will come, with the necessary burst of energy, and above all to be prepared for an ultimate product rather different in shape and content from what he anticipated or perhaps desired. For, once the hunch is in sure action, it is of the first importance that you, the statesman, should estimate accurately how much you are going to get out of it. If you go for too much you may come a cropper, just as you will if you act prematurely, before the hunch is working in strength. It is this latter cause which accounts for the failure of so much of the well-advertised but premature Fisher Act of 1918.

It is very much to the credit of Mr. R. A. Butler, now Minister of Education in the new régime, that he has extracted just about as much as was possible from the very powerful hunch about national education which has been gathering strength for some years. The resulting Act may well be described as in some respects revolutionary, not so much in its purely educational provisions as in the sweeping and rather profound changes in *social* attitudes and habits which will have to take place if the full harvest of possibility is to be reached.

The critics of the Act are largely the doctrinaires, for the most part persons who have little sense of the implications of decisive and responsible action in so difficult a field, and seem to be more enamoured of a neat and symmetrical paper-plan than ready to welcome action which, while it does leave a good deal for the processes of history to complete—necessarily so with such a people—does also register and give statutory effect to the decisive *changes of direction*. It is these changes of direction, both those implied and those recorded in the Act, which are so significant. The doctrinaire critics can readily be discounted; the dangers of frustration or only partial fulfilment of hopes do not come from that quarter. They spring rather from the deposits of a century or more of English social history as expressed in settled class-feelings, "prestige" values which often have behind them neither the long history nor the social justification that are claimed for them, queer snobberies affecting in different ways all classes alike and—an important factor—a long-established habit among the mass of the people of passive acquiescence in educational provision made for them from above.

It would be wrong to call this last-mentioned trait a symptom of a slavish temper. It is rather a sign of delayed awakening, but the awakening must now come if the full possibilities of the Act are to be realized. In other words we have not yet in England anything that can fairly be described as an active and well-understood national philosophy of education

such as operates in Canada and the United States. So it is by no means the least of the merits of the new Act that it implies and calls for the development and operation of precisely such a national philosophy. That is indeed one of the significant changes of direction already referred to, a decisive swing towards a more truly democratic system.

We can now turn to the provisions of the Act. But first we must take a glance at the educational landscape as the Minister saw it when he set himself to the re-survey that was to give shape to his bill. What he saw was still something of a jungle of unco-ordinated historical growths. Or rather, to vary the metaphor, he saw, as for the mass of the people, not exactly a blasted heath but certainly a great stretch of inadequately cultivated territory. For the great majority schooling ended at fourteen. What made this inadequacy much worse, more harmful to national unity and efficiency in the coming age, was that all this schooling was given in the "elementary" school and under the influence of what we must call the "elementary tradition." True, most of the seniors (from eleven to fourteen) had been gathered into separate "senior" schools for treatment more suitable to their age and abilities. But these were still elementary. Moreover, a number up to about fifteen per cent could, by way of a competitive examination held around the age of eleven, secure a much-coveted place in a secondary school and stay there possibly until they were eighteen. But in so passing they came under quite another tradition going back at least as far as Plato. The "elementary" tradition, however, goes back little farther than the Poor Law reform of 1836. No wonder that this limited opening up since 1902 of a secondary school system to selected "elementary" pupils, while it has done much good, has also served to dig yet one more chasm across this much-divided English society. For, granted the great traditions of the Grammar School and the persistence alongside it in such strength of the much lowlier "elementary" tradition, a secondary education was bound to carry with it the stamp of privilege. So it is significant and quite understandable that the development of the publicly-provided secondary school on this limited basis should have been accompanied by an equally marked development of the so-called "independent" schools, the public schools as they are so curiously named. In the circumstances they came to stand for privilege at a still higher level and were consequently all the more sought after by the socially aspiring or exclusive.

The line of attack upon an order of things which could never be really democratic unless it was made basically so, was obviously the "elementary" tradition. It never was a true educational tradition. Its origins and stigmata were all, in fact, social. Its character is most truthfully conveyed in the blunt nineteenth-century language about "instruction of the children of the labouring poor in the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic." True, in recent years the good elementary school was something much better than that. But it could never throw off the marks of the tradition, which in themselves were nothing educational. What it really stood for

was, first, a segregated social lowliness, and secondly (and consequentially), cheapness. So long as it persisted in anything like its traditional form no genuine modernization of the English educational structure was possible.

It is this that Mr. Butler has grasped so firmly. He has won the lasting honour of being the first Minister to pilot an Education Bill through Parliament in which the word "elementary" does not occur at all. In the all-important seventh clause it is laid down without qualification that the stages of education for all alike shall be these: primary, secondary, and "further" education as we call it in this country. So at last we are giving to educational phenomena their true educational names and discarding those which imply rather privilege and social discrimination. Public legislation and administration thus provide the opportunity; it will now be for changed and more communal social attitudes to take full advantage of it.

Thus we get at last secondary education for all with the leaving age to be raised to fifteen immediately (or as soon as we can do it) and eventually to sixteen. That sets us many pretty problems of devising curricula in suitable variety, planning the inter-relationships of different kinds of school, working out criteria by which to decide for each pupil what is the suitable curriculum or type of school, settling the age at which crucial decisions should be taken, and a dozen more such puzzles. There are no clear answers as yet, but in an England which is now beginning to talk quite seriously and even anxiously about educational research, and to make some provision for it, quite a harvest of interesting developments may soon be sprouting.

The elementary tradition was undoubtedly a prominent feature of the landscape which the Minister contemplated in his survey, whether he saw it as a chasm or a mountain barrier. But he would also see much else. He would see a luxuriant but variegated and tangled growth of many kinds. There were technical schools and colleges varying enormously in size, resources, and levels of work, but never really integrated either with one another or with national education as a whole. Although they had developed important and fruitful relations with industry and commerce, especially locally, no real effort had ever been made to determine their function in relation to national economy as a whole.

There were schools of arts in a similar condition, training colleges for teachers related to one another only in a common control by the central Board of Education and in themselves highly variegated; other specialist colleges of many different kinds; and, a great growth of recent years, widespread provision for evening work such as the Evening Institutes which the London County Council has set up in such numbers and diversity. Nor must we forget a variety of forms and levels of provision for adult education, again bearing the characteristic English marks of spontaneity and unconcern for co-ordination.

A considerable part of the Act is designed to bring some kind of order into this wilderness (not a howling one, for it laughs much and enjoys itself).

A minimum leaving age of sixteen will, in the long run, assist the process enormously in ways that are obvious enough.

It is in respect of this post-sixteen period that we take note of perhaps the most novel and exciting provision of the whole Act. This is the requirement that young people, between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, who have left school shall attend for at least one day each week at a new kind of institution, the "County College." Something like this was attempted by the Fisher Act of 1918 but failed for lack of the preliminary hunch. That the hunch is present in strength this time cannot be doubted. For we have learned much about this age-group and its needs. Clubs of many kinds have sprung up all over the country, most of them aided from public funds; youth-leadership is to become a career requiring an approved course of training and enjoying status and conditions comparable to those of teaching, while, most important, the attitude of industry has changed profoundly. Already there is a marked disposition to plan the new County Colleges both generously and flexibly; so we should be on the way towards some exciting possibilities of experimentation with this very interesting and important body of young wage-earners.

At the other end of the ladder local authorities are required, not merely empowered, to provide nursery schools wherever there is a proved demand for them. So we can say, with little exaggeration, that in this Act we are proposing to take care of the young citizen from birth to the verge of maturity.

Such are the main elements of the plan. Obviously it carries with it much consequential provision, some of which is made in the Act itself. Other forms have had to be submitted to specially appointed committees for investigation and report.

Under the first head come such measures as a settlement with the churches, which still have about 10,000 schools at the "elementary" level up and down the country, and a good many secondary ones. A settlement was not reached without controversy and some dissatisfaction. But religious instruction and a formal act of worship are now to be obligatory in all schools. Even among devout people who desire such things there is some misgiving about the possible consequences of enforcing them by law.

Then changes of structure carry with them important changes in local administration, too complex to be detailed here; but again controversial, and settled only by compromise.

What may be called the "auxiliary" services are consolidated and strengthened by the Act; such things as an extensive and often highly efficient school medical service, provision for school meals and milk, "special" schools for the physically or mentally defective, and agencies for vocational guidance and entry into employment.

But of all these consequential provisions in the Act itself the most striking and important is the change in the status and powers of the central authority. A ghostly "Board of Education" which existed on paper but

never materialized, disappears, and its President now becomes plain Minister. More important, it is no longer his function merely to supervise and co-ordinate the activities of local authorities and to administer grants-in-aid. The local powers are now to be exercised "under his direction and control." This note of authority at the centre is a new thing in English educational administration. The reasons for it in this critical age are easy enough to understand. Dangers abroad, pressure for greater equality at home, and unknown possibilities ahead are justification enough. That the authority is to be real is proved by the Act itself. What were powers of local authorities now become duties, and quite new duties are added.

Of the consequential provision to be made outside the Act by administrative action we can mention only three outstanding examples, each of them the subject of exhaustive enquiry by a Departmental Committee. A committee under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair has carried through a thorough overhaul of the needs of the teaching profession, having in view the new order in education. Its recommendations are far-reaching and by no means uncontentious, especially in their effect upon the universities. But there is little doubt that, in the main, they will be carried out, for they are essential to the whole great design.

Then another committee, under Lord Fleming, has had the enormously difficult task of finding some ways in which the hitherto exclusive "independent" schools can be brought, without hurt to themselves and with advantage to the nation, into fruitful relation with the national system. There have been some expressions of disappointment that the committee's recommendations should be so cautious and limited in scope, but it is surely encouraging that a committee composed of such diverse and conflicting elements should have presented a unanimous report at all. What we need just now are not hasty and premature advances which may soon come to be regretted and then retracted, but sincere and emphatic affirmations and registerings of the all-essential *changes of direction*. Something of this we do get in the Fleming Report. There is a long road to travel yet, along which are many sleeping dogs and possibly some raging lions. It is well to proceed cautiously once you have accepted the signpost direction. A few eager people who have had little or no experience of the obstinate cussedness of rooted human habit when roughly handled, seem to be ready, in words at least, to adopt the summary methods of the duchess in *Alice in Wonderland*. But nowhere are they less justifiable or likely to be more disastrous. The case is much more one for the slow processes of social evolution than for the catastrophic action of administrative fiat.

Lastly a committee is sitting under the chairmanship of Lord Eustace Percy to investigate relations between technical colleges and universities. Somehow a delimitation must be effected; it is essential to economy and efficiency of effort in the fiercely competitive world which, in spite of appearances, may well be emerging. The committee is a strong one under good leadership and can be trusted to do a thorough job.

Lengthy as this article has become, it can give but the barest sketch of what is happening.

In conclusion some brief speculation as to the realizing of the new prospect may be permitted. The consciousness is now strong on this side of the water that we stand at yet another fateful crisis in our history, perhaps the most fateful of all. What we make of our re-cast educational design will be both a symptom and a contributory cause of the destiny that may be ours. If there is a failure of nerve, insufficient power and resolve to summon up the necessary energy and imagination, if self-discipline is lacking, then this country will pass, like its own Fighting *Téméraire*, into a glowing sunset and become at best a shrine of history and at worst a touring-ground for trippers.

But if none of these things fail and this nation can once again renew its youth in a new world, then great things may still happen. Following the earlier Empire of Power, now less easily supportable in this kind of world, there may come a new and greater Empire of Influence. Only a sensitively and highly educated free people could support that. If such should be the event then the great prophecy of Wordsworth in the ninth book of *The Excursion* not only retains force but acquires new meaning:

> Change, wide and deep, and silently performed
> This Land shall witness; and as days roll on,
> Earth's universal frame shall feel the effect;
> Even till the smallest habitable rock,
> Beaten by lonely billows, hear the songs
> Of humanized society.

NICOLAS BERDYAEV[1]

EGBERT MUNZER

BERDYAEV tells us in the first lines of his biography of Leontyev that "Constantine Leontyev was an exceptional and unique person, and to love and appreciate him would require a special predilection." The same can be said of Berdyaev himself. His greatest creative strength, like Leontyev's, is prophecy. Prophets are unique and lonely personalities; they shun the Schools and are stoned by the herd. Even amongst themselves the modern prophets, like their predecessors of the Old Testament, do not form a homogeneous group. The bond between them is esoteric. To assign a place to Berdyaev amongst those men whom he regards as his modern ancestors, such as Joseph de Maistre, Kierkegaard, Carlyle, Dostoyevsky, Leontyev, Nietzsche, Solovyov, Bloy, and Feodorov, means actually to state that he is of no school and is not likely to found an Academy. He himself confesses that he owes most to Dostoyevsky, to whom he devoted penetrating studies. In a certain sense, it is true, his whole work is a profound interpretation of the "Grand Inquisitor," the shining ray of genius in *The Brothers Karamasov*. Yet he absorbed so many currents of thought, and developed so many new ideas that this interpretation differs in essential respects from the visions of his master.

Berdyaev is not only a contemporary Jeremiah; he is a theologian and a philosopher in his own right. He has an explosive and impulsive personality, as he sometimes complains about himself, and there are strongly erratic traits in his thought. But the plasticity and impressionableness of

[1]The facts of his life may be briefly set down. Nicolas Alexandrovich Berdyaev, born 1874 at Kiev; Orthodox; descendant of nobles and state dignitaries; already as a youth preoccupied with philosophy, sociology, historiology; became a socialist of revisionist leanings; co-editor of *Voproz Tchishny* ("Problems of Life") 1904-5; seceded, with S. Bulgakov, P. Struwe, and others, from socialism after the first revolution of 1905, and justified his secession in essays in *Vestyi* ("Landmarks"); co-founder of the Liberal Academy of Spiritual Culture in Moscow (1919); expelled from Russia in 1922 with several of his spiritual sympathizers as an "upholder of religion"; went to Berlin and settled finally in Paris in 1924; editor of *Put* ("The Way") and professor in the Russian Theological Institute in Paris; during the present war there have been rumours that he has been imprisoned by the Nazis or has entered a monastery. Author of numerous books, essays, and articles, the most important of which are cited in the text. The following books by Berdyaev have been translated into English: *The Russian Revolution* (1931), *Christianity and the Class War* (1933), *Dostoyevsky* (1933), *The End of our Time* (1933), *The Fate of Man in the Modern World* (1935), *Freedom and the Spirit* (1935), *The Meaning of History* (1936), *The Destiny of Man* (1937), *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1937), *Solitude and Society* (1938), *Spirit and Reality* (1939), *Leontiev* (1940), *Slavery and Freedom* (1944). The first four of these books were published by Sheed and Ward, the others by Geoffrey Bles, in each case in London. Some of them have also been published in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons. The earlier works of Berdyaev have been translated into French and German, though not into English.

his mind and character have moulded a wholly autonomous and spiritually self-contained person, who cannot be gauged by common yardsticks.

I

Berdyaev is pre-eminently a religious thinker. In the introduction to *Freedom and the Spirit*, the most elaborate presentation of his theology and metaphysics, he says of himself: "I regard myself as being a Christian theosophist, in the sense in which Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Gregory of Nyssa, Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, Jacob Boehme, St. Martin, Francis Baader, and Vladimir Solovyov were Christian theosophists." Indeed, Berdyaev is their disciple in theology though these teachers would, at times, be afraid of the dizzy heights to which he wants to take them.

In accordance with their basic ideas, Berdyaev arrives at the most fundamental proposition of his theology: the Aristotelian-Thomist conception of God as *actus purus* deprives God of interior active life and power. The deism of the Enlightenment and the subsequent modern atheism, born out of indifference, are the inevitable consequences of this theology, since a lifeless object of speculation must ultimately disintegrate faith and reduce all modes of cognition to agnostic rationalism or scepticism. In vain, Thomism tries to distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, for it is enslaved to a naturalist metaphysic of divinity; the supernatural is simply the natural on a higher plane and with a wider range. Already St. Bonaventure had criticized St. Thomas on this very point. When Berdyaev read Etienne Gilson's work on St. Bonaventure he was greatly gratified about the similarity of St. Bonaventure's thought to his own.

For Berdyaev the distinction between potency and act is a mere logical principle, applicable only to the physical world. Potency is not a state of imperfection, as all Western theology has taught in accordance with Aristotle. Within the doctrine of the Spirit, for which God is the prime concern, potency as a form of freedom is even more perfect and real than act. The analogies originating in naturalist metaphysics cannot be applied to God. Genuine theology is apophatic, a term which, in Berdyaev's usage, is equivalent to direct mystical appropriation of truth. Cataphic theology, i.e., rationalist cognition, especially by analogies derived from naturalist metaphysics, is incapable of mediating ultimate theological verities.

Berdyaev's theology thus is eminently mystical. In all his writings he tries to burst the limits of cataphic theology and to develop a pure doctrine of the Spirit. He accuses even Thomism of being agnostic in its tendency to narrow unduly the cognitive faculties of man. The ultimate aim of his philosophy is to bridge in a continuous process of speculation the transcendent gulf between Creator and creation, between the supernatural and the natural, which rational theology and metaphysics are bound to affirm in their analogical method of cognition. Though he is not a theological practitioner of mysticism, as for example St. John of the Cross was, he is

one of the most profound doctrinaires of mystical theology and in many ways congenial to Plotinus and Jacob Boehme.

While the Berdyaevian doctrine of God shows traits of great originality, in spite of certain points of departure from the early Greek Fathers, his Christology and anthropology owe much to what in Eastern thought is long known as *sophia* or *gnosis*, and especially to the teachings of Vladimir Solovyov. In *sophia*, or the doctrine of wisdom, God became man to raise him to divine stature (theandrism). Through Christ, the God-man, God has become man within history. Christ is our divine Brother, and His incarnation has elevated humanity to a divine race. The sophiologists blame Western theologians for latent monophysitism in their attempt at depreciating man in relation to God. Berdyaev never ceases emphasizing that German idealism, and in particular Hegelianism, is the linear descendant of this Aristotelian-Thomist monophysitism which finally absorbs man in the Universal Spirit, the "objektiver Geist," and which renders him unrecognizable and "an obstacle to knowledge," as the neo-Kantian Cohen formulated in disarming resignation.

In the West, only few theologians, for example Scheeben, have entertained similar ideas on the divinization of man. In the East, on the contrary, this problem has been the prime object of theology since the age of the early Greek Fathers. This great stream of speculation reaches its apex in the idea of *theosis*, the transfiguration and glorification of humanity and the world in God. Berdyaev discerns in this fundamental dichotomy between Eastern and Western conceptions of divine-human relations the cause for far-reaching dogmatical differences, of which the Eastern preoccupation with the resurrection and the second coming of Christ, as opposed to the Western emphasis on redemption and personal salvation, is the most important.

In the more recent past *sophia* or *gnosis*, in its modern formulation by Solovyov, Berdyaev, and Bulgakov, has deeply influenced Western speculation and in particular the thought of German Catholics such as R. Guardini, K. Pfleger, and E. Przywara.

Few Catholics or Orthodox thinkers, however, are inclined to follow Berdyaev in his ecclesiology, the doctrine of the Church, which he desires to derive from the sophianic ground-structure of his thought. Nearly a century ago, the Orthodox lay-theologian Khomyakov, under the influence especially of Pauline-Lutheran ideas, had postulated as the essential quality of the Church the spiritual bond which unites her members, living, dead, and unborn, in eternal remembrance of Christ. According to this doctrine, the essential ontological nature of the Church is *Sobornost*, which is best transcribed as the dynamic life of the corporate body in the mystical communion of its members with its Head. Berdyaev would not agree with Khomyakov in his almost Protestant depreciation of the Church Visible. Yet *sophia*, as the doctrine of the wisdom of God, urges his thought toward a similar, highly spiritual and a-legalist, notion of the Church. "The

agency of the Holy Ghost is manifest in *Sobornost*, in the Church as an integral whole, in the Church community. . . . Spirit—the Holy Spirit—is incarnated in human life, but it assumes the form of a *whole humanity* rather than of authority." This summarizes the pivotal idea of Berdyaev's doctrine of the Spirit in its application to the Church, as expounded particularly distinctly in his *Spirit and Reality*. It is a new version of the idea of God-humanity which Solovyov visualized in his *Ten Lectures on Divine Humanity*. Berdyaev differs from Solovyov mainly in his final eschatological idea of Christianity. For him, Christianity is a universal royal priesthood, not a hierocracy, whether papal or imperial, but a religious transfiguration of humanity and the world. Hence, *theosis* is the ultimate mission of the Church. The priestly hierarchy belongs to the angelic order. But the human order is the more significant for the eschatological destiny towards which the creation is labouring in the struggle of history. Christ is the God-man, not the God-angel. Berdyaev does not want to deny the role which the angelic-hierarchical principle has played in history.

II

Berdyaev's philosophy flows from the plenitude of his theology. Its concentration upon metaphysics, and the neglect of epistemology and logic, indicate its purely speculative leanings. A thorough study of his philosophy has convinced us that most of it is a complicated superstructure upon his sophianic theology which he tries to support, sometimes artificially, by a critical appropriation of several elements from modern Western metaphysics. Berdyaev often assures us that before Solovyov none of the great Russian thinkers, and least of all Dostoyevsky, was really steeped in Western philosophy. But in the interest of the purity and homogeneity of his own version of *sophia*, one wishes that Berdyaev had imbibed less of Western thought.

We know from Berdyaev's theology that he regards the naturalist metaphysics of Aristotle and St. Thomas as irreconcilable with an autonomous doctrine of the Spirit, and *a fortiori* with theology as the wisdom of the divine Spirit. In his *Solitude and Society* and in *Slavery and Freedom*, his latest work, Berdyaev extends this condemnation to philosophical metaphysics as such and from Thomism to German idealism and all related metaphysical schools. Idealism, Berdyaev argues, delivered man from the constraint of the exterior world imposed upon him by the naturalist metaphysics of Greek and Scholastic realism, and precludes any return to objectivist metaphysics with its identification of being with object. But in this process, idealism itself interpreted the subject in an objective way. The subject itself became the object in the various universalist philosophies, especially in Hegel's, and man's personality was submerged in the Absolute. Such a view is opposed to Berdyaev's conception of *sophia*, which regards man as not strictly belonging to the created world, but as co-creator of God with whom he converses in continuous and mutual revelation.

To fit his metaphysics with the fundamental principles of his theology, Berdyaev therefore espouses the cause of existential philosophy or, to use the German term, *Existenzphilosophie*. For existential philosophy is *the only modern metaphysics which situates man on the extra-natural plane*. Thus, in metaphysics Berdyaev becomes a disciple of Kierkegaard, the great opponent of Hegelianism. Following him, he identifies the knowing subject with the existential subject. Philosophy becomes itself existence rather than an interpretation of existence. Even before Berdyaev became acquainted with existential philosophy, he had developed similar ideas in *The Philosophy of Freedom* on the basis of Solovyov's distinction between the *abstract* being (the predicate: "is"), and the *concrete* being (the subject: "I am").

Freedom distinguishes the concrete being, the personality, from abstract being, i.e., being in the sense of traditional metaphysics. Hence, freedom must be anterior to being. To justify this anteriority of freedom, Berdyaev seeks support from another source. It is Jacob Boehme's vision of the *Ungrund*, or groundlessness, the fathomless depth in which the theogonic process originates, and in which God is co-existent with freedom. Already Master Eckehart had distinguished between godhead and God. Berdyaev tries to elaborate this mystical speculation to a metaphysics of freedom. Since for him man is the co-creator of God within history, man's freedom, the origin of his creativeness, must be un-created in the sense that the creation of *being* cannot comprehend it. We confess that this problem is one of the great mysteries which neither Thomism nor idealism nor Boehme's and Berdyaev's *sophia* have been able to penetrate.

For spiritualist metaphysics, like Berdyaev's, the notion of time is of paramount significance, because spirit is linked up with time, not with space. Berdyaev distinguishes three kinds of time: cosmic, historical, and existential time. Their main characteristics can best be explained by the symbols which Berdyaev applies to them: the circle, the horizontal line pointing forward, the point moving vertically upward. Thus he elaborates creatively on Kierkegaard's *Augenblick*, the moment in which man is united to God and terrestrial time becomes eternity. Catholic philosophers of mysticism—for example, Friedrich von Hügel—formulated similar ideas. Berdyaev emphasizes that the creative act is equal to the mystical act in relation to time: in both, cosmic and historical time are sublimated in existential time, in eternity.

Berdyaev's anthropology, the metaphysics of man, is the most creative part of his elaboration on *Existenzphilosophie*. He describes his whole metaphysics as personalism. Kierkegaard linked up personality, the central value of his philosophy, with anguish. Berdyaev emphasizes that, above anguish, man experiences yearning, namely, for divine life. In religious language this means love. Thus he confronts the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum* with *amo ergo sum*. The prime value of Berdyaev's personalist metaphysics, the yearning for God, is more affirmatively Christian than Kierkegaard's

negative, quasi-Protestant anguish; and it is religious in contradistinction to Heidegger's secularization of Kierkegaard's anguish into intentionality or care. This is the theme especially of Berdyaev's *Slavery and Freedom*. In this work he refutes the "hierarchical personalism" of Max Scheler with whom he otherwise sympathizes, and establishes his own anti-hierarchical personalism. It seems to us that the subtle anarchism which permeates every line of *Slavery and Freedom* has its deepest root in Berdyaev's Orthodox heritage. But who would throw the first stone, in this age of personality-killing totalism?

III

In *The Destiny of Man*, his system of ethics, Berdyaev honours the promise which he gave in *Freedom and the Spirit:* "To-day, the main religious problem is that of man, not of sophia or the cosmos. Sophiology must be linked to the problem of anthropology." For *sophia* ethics is anthropology. Thus Berdyaev starts from the difference in the conception of man according to the Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox theology. For Catholic theology, Berdyaev argues, man has lost his supernatural gifts through the Fall, and he may recover them only by a special act of grace; human nature is naturalistically interpreted, and Thomism in particular tends to regard man as a non-spiritual being. In Protestant theology the Fall has completely distorted human nature, deprived man of freedom and made all his life dependent on grace; from this point of view Barth rightly belittles man as a tragic and paradoxical creature. Orthodox anthropology alone, though up till now hardly developed, places the emphasis on the doctrine of the divine image and likeness in man, and on his quality as a spiritual being. It is Orthodox anthropology which Berdyaev sets out to expound within the spiritual context of *sophia*. But he actually re-shapes it in essential directions.

For this purpose, Berdyaev assimilates currents of thought which were unknown to the anthropology of the Greek Fathers and Orthodox theologians. Mainly, he tries to amalgamate traditional ethics with anthropological conclusions drawn from *Existenzphilosophie*, and with modern psycho-pathology. In *Existenzphilosophie*, man is the central metaphysical, not merely ethical, problem. The idea of personality thus constitutes the meta-ethical foundation of ethics itself. Ethics becomes a comprehensive theory of personality, not only a theory of rules of human conduct. Universalist ethics is a contradiction in terms.

On the other hand, the discoveries of modern psycho-pathology are wholly in keeping with the Christian doctrine of original sin. Man is inwardly divided; his consciousness wavers between two abysses, the upper and the lower, the superconscious and the subconscious. Hence, ethics cannot be confined to the rules of conscious behaviour. In his superconscious and subconscious states man is elevated above merely utilitarian ends. Even Thomism, in its limitation upon the ethics of consciousness,

has strongly utilitarian traits. Berdyaev holds, with Dostoyevsky's "Man from the Underworld," that man does not aspire to happiness.

On this side of good and evil, morality is moving on three planes: the ethics of law, of redemption, and of creativeness. The ethics of law is pre-Christian morality, either Greek or Jewish. It represses subconsciousness and knows nothing of superconsciousness. It is "virtues without Christ" as Dostoyevsky said of its most modern version, materialist socialism. Berdyaev attempts to transcend the dualism of good and evil in legalist ethics by the deeper dualism of redemptive ethics: faith and sin. He agrees with St. Paul's and Kierkegaard's depreciation of law as the minor ethics. Nothing could express his view more succinctly than Gogol's aphorism which he chose as the motto of *The Destiny of Man:* "It is sad not to see any good in goodness." True, which means existential, ethics are ethics of grace, not of law. They are existing on a plane beyond good and evil. Christianity is the greatest revolution, for it places man "above the idea of the good."

The ethics of redemption and grace is fraught with new dangers. The obsession with the idea of perdition and personal salvation may lead man to transcendental egoism—for example, in the form of arid monasticism—and deprive him of creativeness. But according to Berdyaev's theology, it is the divine vocation of man to be the co-creator of God. Neither the Middle Ages in their exclusive concern about redemptive ethics, nor humanism with its secularized anthropology were able to develop a genuine ethics of creativeness. Berdyaev intends to fill this gap. The prophetic undercurrent of all Berdyaevian thought comes here to the surface. The ethics of creativeness is prophetic, directed towards the future; it originates in the personality but is social in import. Creativeness is freedom, the overcoming of the existing objectified world. In the moment of creativeness, man is united with God in the task of creation. Herein lies the religious justification of creativeness which thus becomes an ethical category of prime importance.

Since ethics comprises man's superconscious destiny, anthropology culminates in eschatological ethics, the doctrine of death, hell, and paradise. If cosmic, historical, and existential time can be distinguished, hell is not eternity but only endless duration in non-existential time. Eternity would invest hell with a privileged quality which is reserved to the world of creativeness and to the mystical union with God. In reality, hell is non-being, non-creative, and therefore a-eternal. Berdyaev accepts the definition of hell by Marcel Jouhandeau: "La place la plus brûlante du Cœur de Dieu." In true time, in eternity, every human being is saved. Berdyaev refers to Feodorov's vision of the Last Judgment, in which God's question to Cain, in Genesis 4: 9, is reversed and directed to all of us: "Abel, where is thy brother Cain?" Feodorov's "public undertaking of raising the dead" is the positive answer which Berdyaev gives to the question of the ultimate destiny of man. Dostoyevsky conceived this answer even before Feodorov

and Berdyaev when he described the tragic insight of Raskolnikov that "everyone is responsible for everyone." From this Berdyaev concludes that all traditional eschatology, with its idea of the separation of the good and wicked, ultimately denies the essential unity and oneness of the creation. Calvinist predestination is the final *reductio ad absurdum* of this false doctrine, and herein lies its only value. To controvert this heresy, Berdyaev appeals to Christ's sacrificial death: "To conquer evil the good must crucify itself." The ultimate goal of ethics is *theosis*, the transfiguration of man as personality in God.

IV

While ethics is the doctrine of *theosis* in its personalist aspect, history is communal *theosis:* the glorification of humanity in God. History thus postulates a divine humanity. This was the prime concern of Solovyov's speculative thought; and Berdyaev's *The Meaning of History* is a creative continuation of Solovyovian *sophia*. The meeting between God and man occurs in history, and is not confined to a legalist relation in the Last Judgment. Celestial and terrestrial history are continuously interpenetrating. Terrestrial history is made up of the complex interaction of the three principles: of necessity, freedom, and transfiguring grace. History can be interpreted only as the mysterious tie between these three processes, the cosmogonic, the anthropogonic, and the theogonic. These three processes are evolving in the kind of time characteristic for each of them: cosmic, historic, and existential time.

History is the revelation of God to man, but also of man to God. In the act of revelation, historic time is transfigured to existential time, while cosmic time, the measure for duration and change in nature, "is no longer."[2] Thus, history is the result of a deep interaction between eternity and time, "the eruption of eternity in time." Terrestrial history is the scene of the theandric process, of the divinization of humanity. Celestial history constitutes the tragedy of God in his revelation to man. The human yearning for God, and its response by God, is mirrored in a divine longing for man and the genesis of God in man. Berdyaev confronts those who consider this as dangerously bordering on pantheism with Christ in whose image is brought about the genesis of God in man and of man in God, the unity of the great twin mystery of the world. K. Pfleger, in the chapters on Solovyov and Berdyaev in his *Wrestlers with Christ*, and Stremoukov, the most recent biographer of Solovyov, denote this philosophy of history as "pan-entheism." But merely formalistic terms can hardly do justice to a philosophy of history which is essentially mystical and inaccessible to the nomenclature of the schools.

For Berdyaev, history and metaphysics are therefore one. This becomes evident particularly at the point where anthropology and philosophy of history meet. Since freedom is the central value of Berdyaev's personal

[2]Revelation 10: 6; cf. Kirillov's speculation in Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed.*

metaphysics, the principle of the freedom of evil represents the fundamental anthropological postulate without which history cannot be comprehended. This idea seems paradoxical, but it can claim a deeper affinity with Christianity than the idealist, let alone the materialist, philosophies of history. To support this view, Berdyaev points to the ancient tale of the fall of Adam and Eve which epitomizes the introduction of the freedom of evil as the prime postulate of history.

In *The Meaning of History* we may find a philosophical interpretation of Dostoyevsky's vision of *The Grand Inquisitor*. The deep mystery of the three temptations of our Lord can be expressed in one sentence: "All that is unfree is undesirable to God." This idea of freedom was unknown to Greek philosophy. If fate, *moira*, is the destiny of man, humanity has no goal outside cosmic time. The same false notion of history underlies all monist systems, such as German idealism and Marxism, which are but forms of Hellenism in disguise. Jewish speculation was the first to deliver man from an objectified, universalist fate which ultimately had abandoned him to the forces of nature. Throughout the Old Testament we find the presentiment of a metaphysical, meta-historical goal of humanity. But the Jews' preoccupation with the idea of justice rather than with immortality, caused them to lose sight of the religious transfiguration of history, or of *theosis*, and to concentrate upon the consummation of man's destiny in some beatific state in this world. Socialism, even in its most secularized Marxist form, originates in this aberrant Messianism, an interpretation which Max Scheler, Christopher Dawson, and others share. This false millenniarism, whether religious or secularized, is founded on the idea that its fulfilment means the reign of goodness on earth. But Christ's promise of beatitude will be consummated in eternity, in existential, not historical, time.

Berdyaev's refutation of all cyclic notions of history, and of the pseudo-religion of progress, is the corollary of this view. All cyclic philosophies of history share the doom of Greek philosophy and tragedy, to render the fate of man, and history itself, meaningless. The pseudo-religion of progress, of which socialism is but one version, is based on a metaphysically untenable disintegration of historic time into a bad past and a beatific future; it is morally objectionable as it relegates all past generations of mankind into the inferno of moral inferiority; it is disproved by pragmatic history which narrates the rise and fall of every culture. Christian philosophy of history alone, with its spiral-like ascent to its transcendent aim, is worthy of the divine mission of Christ, the God-man, and the dignity of man, created in God's image.

Berdyaev has applied the principle of his philosophy of history to concrete historical phenomena. He has extended the brief but deep analysis of Humanism and the Renaissance in *The Meaning of History* to the plane of prophecy, his most congenial task. In *The End of Our Time* he interprets very forcefully the catastrophe of Humanism, the dissolution

of the divine image in man by the abandonment of the one-sided redemptive ethics of the Middle Ages, and by an equally one-sided concentration on an a-ethical, pseudo-religious cult of creativeness. The thought of the nineteenth century finally shattered humanist anthropology and philosophy of history. The collective man of Marx, for whom society becomes the deity, and the superman of Nietzsche who supersedes "the god who died," indicate the bankruptcy of a great age which was born in a dionysiac outburst of the creative spirit.

In this process of overcoming Humanism the Russian revolution plays the predominant part. This is described by Berdyaev, with the insight of genius, in *The Origin of Russian Communism*. Russia has become the vanguard of the New Dark Ages, the time of incubation which will initiate the new aeon of history. Russian thought, biblical rather than classical, is called to resolve speculatively the European problems raised by the end of Humanism and the Renaissance. The Russian revolution is an apocalypse within history, a "Judgment of the Nations," to use Christopher Dawson's term. Russian communism bears fundamental traits of Orthodox nihilism, anarchism, and asceticism, and its atheism constitutes a cleansing process in the realm of the spirit. It may prove to be a "dialogical moment in the process of theological purification, spiritualization and humanization." In this interpretation of atheism, so alien to Western atheism which results from agnostic indifference, Berdyaev lays bare the Manichaean ground-feeling which has never fully left Eastern subconsciousness. In Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*, Bishop Tihon tells the confessing Stavrogin that outright atheism is to be preferred to mere indifference for "the complete atheist stands on the pen-ultimate step to most perfect faith." Russian atheism reflects the tragedy of Marcion, who could not reconcile the idea of God with the existence of evil.

It is in anthropology and philosophy of history that Berdyaev will leave the most creative imprint on speculative thought. The Westernization of Russia with its natural concomitant, the "cloven spirit," has urged Russian thinkers to concentrate more on philosophy of man and of history than Western thought. Western philosophy remained immersed in the classical-Humanist problems of naturalist and objectivist metaphysics, whether Realist or Idealist. Starting from the concrete historical problem of Russia, Eastern thought developed mainly in two directions: it enveloped the destiny of Europe in its visions, and it deepened its philosophy to a profound *gnosis* of man and history. In the former, Russian thinkers acquired an insight into the essence of Europe, perhaps deficient in detail yet more profound in its prophetical aspects than the analyses of their Western contemporaries; the main ideas of Spengler's, to name but a minor instance, were already found in Danilevsky, Dostoyevsky, and Leontyev. In the last, they are about to compel Western thought entirely to remould the metaphysical basis of anthropology and philosophy of

history. In both currents of thought, Berdyaev is the most Western-minded representative of an Eastern speculation which is shaking the European spirit to its foundations.

In his religious and metaphysical quest Berdyaev tries to overcome the spiritual impasse between Realism and Idealism by a creative union of *Sophia* and *Existenzphilosophie*. He is confronted with the problem of Philo who wanted to unite Athens and Jerusalem, and of the great Scholastics who aspired to reconcile, and delimit the spheres of, Greek reason and Christian revelation. Like his predecessors, Berdyaev is not successful in this task. Perhaps Leo Chestov is right in regarding this problem as insoluble. For him, Berdyaev's metaphysics, like any other philosopher's, remains in "Job's Balances." But this is all the more reason for us to pay tribute to Berdyaev as one of the great "Wrestlers with Christ."

DRIEU LA ROCHELLE: STUDY OF A COLLABORATOR

BEATRICE CORRIGAN

ONE of the strangest phenomena in the pattern of the Nazi conquest was the ease with which, in most of the occupied countries, men could be found willing, even eager, to collaborate with the new order. In France not only were the army and all the political parties riddled with sympathizers prepared to support the cause of the invaders, but even among authors and artists there were many ready to forswear the principles of which France had been proud for generations, and to lend their pens to the puppet press, subject to German direction and German censorship. Their defection cannot be dismissed as simple venality; some of them, doubtless, were blackmailed into submissiveness; some, perhaps, were embittered because they had not won the success which they considered their due; but for many writers amity for Germany was not the result of a hasty, expedient conversion, but rather the logical development of earlier secret doubts and half-admitted sympathies.

The collapse of France might have come as less of a shock to the English-speaking world if it had been more widely realized before the war that the feeling of the French toward their republic was by no means identical with the feeling of the Americans towards theirs. For over a hundred and fifty years the Americans had had one form of government and one constitution; in the same time the French had had a directorate, two emperors, three kings, three republics, and the Commune. Moreover, nearly every change in government was accompanied by sufficient violence to leave behind it resentments, hatreds, and desires for vengeance which were ready to flare up on any occasion. Consequently the Third Republic was not generally regarded as a stable enduring institution, to be modified, perhaps, but with respect, not rashly; rather, it was the target for all the many critics who felt that it had already lasted too long and was ripe for destruction. By 1939 most French intellectuals were frankly either communist or fascist, while the middle classes, vilified by both, and the peasants, fulsomely praised by both, felt with a confused resentment that they were being urged either to fight fascism to protect Russia, or to fight communism to protect Germany. Native French democracy alone seemed to have no spokesman.

Prominent among the fascist writers was Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, who during the German occupation was the editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, with which André Gide was once so closely connected. Little known to English-speaking readers, for his works have never been translated, Drieu La Rochelle before the war held an honourable place in the French world of letters. His great-grandfather had been one of Napoleon's sergeants, to whose own name of Drieu his comrades had added the nick-

name of La Rochelle, which became so familiar to him that he and his family retained it. Pierre was born in Paris in 1893, and was educated first at a Catholic school (where he headed a Republican faction opposed to the Royalists) and then at the University of Paris, in the faculty of political science. There, friends communicated to him their admiration for Paul Claudel and Francis Jammes, and there, too, he devoured the first numbers of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. Shy and self-distrustful, he had made a vow to commit suicide if by the age of twenty-five he had not made love to a beautiful woman, written a fine book, and performed some brilliant exploit; then war broke out and his dreams and uncertainties were swept aside by the urgencies of army life.

In 1915 on service in the Dardanelles he was wounded; and back in Toulon in hospital a nurse gave him a copy of Claudel's *Cinque grandes Odes*. It was at once a revelation to him and an inspiration. He began to write poems of his own, which were shown to his friends, and by them to their friends, and which resulted in a telephone message from the *N.R.F.*, asking him to come to their office. Thus his literary career began, at an era, as he said himself, when a young writer could find a sympathetic audience more easily than at any other in the world's history. At that time the authors most closely associated with the *N.R.F.* were Gide, Claudel, Valéry, Roger Martin du Gard, and Aragon, all then already famous or soon to become so. Now to their ranks was added Drieu La Rochelle, whose first efforts did little credit to his sponsors and were unblushingly imitative, but who soon became one of the magazine's regular contributors of articles, reviews, and poems.

Like most of the intellectuals of his generation, Drieu La Rochelle had been horrified by the mechanical unhumanized slaughter of modern warfare. As a child he had delighted in tales of ancient battles and of the glories of Napoleon's campaigns, and as a youth he had even dreamed of enlisting in the French Army in Africa. But the retreat of Charleroi, and the horrors of Verdun, where human flesh, as he said, was piled up as if on a butcher's block waiting for the chopping knife, only sickened him. Moreover, he felt that France would have been defeated in 1915 if she had not been forced by her allies to continue a suicidal struggle; and as early as 1920 he was maintaining that French soil had merely been used as a battle-ground for foreign nations carrying on a war of their own. He even expressed resentment that the Americans in 1917, unwearied, vigorous, well-equipped, had taken unfair advantage of the German soldiers who, exhausted by battle like their French counterparts, had had their legitimate victory snatched from them by an indecently superior foe. France's allies, not France, had won the war, and had contemptuously flung her a few scraps of the resulting plunder.

Glad though he was to leave behind army discipline, Drieu La Rochelle found the post-war world unworthy and tedious, and in *Le jeune Européen* (1927) he expressed all the disillusionment and dissatisfaction characteristic

of the twenties. He was oppressed by the sense that European civilization was already rotting, yet refused to admit itself dead, turning all new things to its own purposes, infecting them with its own decay. He was impatient for some violent action which should completely destroy the existing framework of society and allow history to return to its source; and yet he admitted himself that in such a blood-bath France might be crushed between Fascists and Communists, who would welcome the opportunity only too eagerly. Still he felt impatient of the past which had burdened Europe with ruins which were revered instead of being cleared away to make room for new buildings; and at the same time he considered himself out of touch with his own age, unable either to like his contemporaries, to find freedom and satisfaction in his work, or to accept any guiding faith in life. And throughout the book he reiterates his longing for destruction, his admiration for romantic violence typical of a disciple of d'Annunzio, his conviction that only in war does a man find his fullest expression.

This book is a summing up of many of the ideas developed in the periodical, *Les Derniers Jours*, which he had founded in 1926 as a medium for the dissemination of his political theories. At this time they were still not clarified, for though he condemned nationalism and recommended a federal union of European states, he was yet attracted to the monarchist Action Française party, which dreamed of reviving the ancient glories which France had known under the Bourbons. The influence of its literary leaders, Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet, may be seen in much of his work. But at the same time he admired socialism, though not communism, and agreed with Mussolini that democracy was a rotting corpse overdue for burial.

Then late in 1933 he visited Germany, where he had already spent some time two years before, and there at last he found a social order which he could admire wholeheartedly. He saw the Nazis marching through the streets, hungry but singing; he shared the enthusiasm of his German friends for their vision of a new world. He felt that fascism (the German version of it, not the Italian, which he despised) was a "reformist socialism," with more heart than formal socialism, and that it was setting capitalism to work for collective, not individual, ends. Its virile attitude, too, pleased him, for he thought of communism as pacifist, apart from its plans for world revolution, while democracy, he claimed had forgotten all the virile virtues.

In February, 1934, the quickly suppressed riots in Paris destroyed his last hope that the government would be overthrown by civil war. He had welcomed the outbreak of violence provoked by the Stavisky scandal, thinking that the extreme Right and the extreme Left might join against the republic; his disappointment caused him to lose the remnants of his faith in the Action Française party, for he was convinced at last that it lacked the militant vigour necessary to establish the government which he considered best for French interests, a monarchy with either the king himself or his prime minister assuming, at least temporarily, the powers of

a dictator. A fascist republic friendly to Germany seemed to him the only other solution to the political tangle, and he had little hope that this would be established.

Later in 1934 Drieu published *La Comédie de Charleroi*, a belated addition to the spate of war books, a volume of sketches based on his personal experiences. Unlike most English writers of war reminiscences, Drieu La Rochelle, true to his anti-democratic convictions, finds no compensations for the horrors of war in the comradeship of the army. He despises almost every member of it: the officers because they are stupid and incompetent, the men because they are ignorant, ill-trained, and in some cases, criminal. And even more than he despises the army, he loathes the cause for which it fights what he is convinced are hopeless battles. One of his heroes is quite prepared for the retreat at Charleroi on the Belgian frontier in 1914 because he remembers the defeat of Sedan, and because ever since he was born everyone has told him that things could never go well for France. When he is the first to turn and flee he is acting as an intellectual should act in a futile struggle. He hates France and the French for putting him in such danger, and his one desire is to separate himself from them and so to escape sharing their fate.

The hero of another sketch is humiliated by the contrast between his men and a group of Highlanders. Here, he thinks, are the British Empire and the French Empire face to face: the first civilized but with enough of its original wildness left to preserve it from destruction in the modern world; the second civilized in a peasant way, badly trained, badly equipped, lacking in pride and self-discipline, with no faith in its own destiny. The warrior spirit is dead in France, and the French would never have submitted to the war if they had not been so thoroughly debased that they had not the courage to protest.

In the final sketch there is a long monologue by a man who had deserted France in 1914 to avoid the war, and who, living securely in South America, regards European events with contempt. He taunts the French with their protestations of pacifism, since they have nothing to fight for, and says that he would like to see all Europe conquered and pacified by one country so that internecine strife might end once and for all. Already, it is evident, Drieu's vision of a European federation is modified into that of a hegemony. And he had no faith in France's ability to become its leader.

The critics praised this book for its vivid description of Verdun, which contains a brief glimpse of Pétain, the only military figure of whom Drieu speaks kindly, outwardly the stern professional soldier, inwardly grieving over his doomed regiments. One can only wonder how many of the survivors were, like Drieu, infected with Pétain's defeatism, how many saw in the French surrender at Compiègne in 1940 a symbolic acknowledgement of a conquest more than twenty years old.

From then on Drieu La Rochelle, like Anne Morrow Lindbergh, saw in the dark flood which was to engulf France only the wave of the future.

He accepted the arguments of his German friends that, as the League of Nations had failed for lack of a police force, the only hope for Europe was that one nation should be dominant and should afford protection against Russia for the other states in the federation. He looked forward to an eventual political unification of Europe, Africa, and the Near East, all sharing in the benefits of a pan-European economic system and an international army; and he did not flinch from the conclusion that this could be accomplished only if the Germans were victorious in a new war.

In 1939 he published his most important novel, *Gilles*, which will be studied for many years as the most complete portrait in fiction of the moral and intellectual development of a French fascist. Gilles Gambier, like the protagonist of *Le jeune Européen*, is a foundling, by which Drieu symbolizes the break of continuity between his own and the preceding generation. In the winter of 1917, when the story opens, Gilles has come to Paris on leave to have some treatments at the military hospital for an arm injury. He has conceived during the war a taste for disaster, a conviction that life can be enjoyed only when death is constantly imminent. He is persuaded that his only homage to life must be a process of self-destruction. At the same time he feels in himself an incapacity for action, and resolves to marry a rich heiress, Myriam Falkenberg, so that he need not compete with the world and may pass his life in contemplation. His numerous relations with women have always lacked profundity and permanence, because he brings to them neither warmth nor tenderness. Now he does not even pretend any love for Myriam, and a few days after their marriage asks the military authorities to transfer him to active service from the position in the Foreign Office which he has obtained by the Falkenberg influence with M. Morel, a Minister without Portfolio, a former socialist, and one of Clemenceau's chief supporters. During the final months of the war he acts, as Drieu had done, as interpreter to an American infantry brigade.

Already in 1917 Gilles had been convinced that, defeated or victorious, France was doomed to be overwhelmed either by her enemies or her allies, and the inter-war years only confirm his fears. At thirty, separated from Myriam but living on the generous settlement she has granted him, he still holds a subordinate position in the Press department of the Foreign Office, and without ambitions, without faith, without will, acting only on impulse, is content to allow his spirit to form slowly in solitude and reflection. He is shaken out of his lethargy by two events. For the first time in his life he falls in love, and his American mistress, after torturing him for months with her indecision, finally refuses to divorce her husband and marry him.

While he is still suffering from this rejection, which he attributes to her contempt for his inadequacy for life, he is unwillingly involved in a sordid politico-literary intrigue. M. Morel, his first patron, is now President of the Republic, and is most unfortunate in his children, who turn against him and join with his leftist adversaries. Gilles has had some connection

with this group, but when he sees Morel's son maddened to the point of an attempt to murder his father he realizes that the intellectuals of the Left have been able to conceive no political action better than a vulgar crime, because they are flimsy and ineffectual.

Disgusted with the surrounding atmosphere of blackmail, perversion, drug-addiction, and corruption, personal and political, Gilles experiences something like a religious conversion, and decides to make a complete break with his old life. Resigning his position with the Foreign Office, he founds a periodical, "L'Apocalypse," in which he pours out all the theories and plans for a new world which he has long been preparing in solitude and silence. His philosophy is that of the anti-modern school, whose tradition extends from Maistre to Péguy ; he attacks democracy and capitalism, as well as the worship of science and the machine. In this he shows the influence of his old foster-father, who after his return from a propaganda mission to Canada back in 1915 had praised to Gilles the French Canadians as representing the old France, untouched by the Revolution, by industrialism, or even by the sceptical eighteenth century, Gilles supports no political party, though he has always been drawn towards the Action Française; but soon he feels the need for some man of action who will make his dreams concrete, and he turns to a certain Clérences, urging him to forsake the Radicals and become the leader of a new party. Clérences accepts the nomination but proves disappointing. He fails to unite all enemies of the republic; he develops an antipathy to fascism; and during the February riots in 1934 he shrinks from the opportunity for revolution. Meanwhile "L'Apocalypse" has failed; Gilles cannot persuade editors to print his bitter angry articles; the last door has closed, and there is no more work for him to do in France. Without ancestors, without descendants, he represents the unique generation, the lost generation.

In the epilogue, Gilles has become an agent of Franco, and through stormy adventures in Spain, ending with the siege of Estremadura in 1937, he becomes convinced that he has left France only to possess her more essentially, and that he is somehow following in the footsteps of Joan of Arc. He believes that in the coming European struggle, if England and France fight against Germany and Italy, they will themselves become fascist. Then in the face of a Russian invasion and an American invasion he is sure that a sense of European patriotism will arise among these European fascist countries, and unity will be achieved without the loss of national individualism. Then the old happy life of Europe will be born again, full of dances, of song, and of prayer. Then will the virile Christ be restored to his kingdom, and all dictators will pay him homage. For Gilles' belief in fascism has become mystic, and is blended with a revival of faith in the Catholicism, not of the Church, but of such men as Léon Bloy, Charles Péguy, and Paul Claudel.

This strange novel, baffling, uneven, full of a tormented symbolism, was recognized by the critics as the odyssey of the inter-war generation in

search of a cause for whose bright flame they might fight, finding only the cold ashes of one disillusionment after another. That Drieu La Rochelle, like Gilles, was eager to destroy his own world is unmistakable, though his reasons are not always plain. As early as 1926 the French critic, Benjamen Crémieux, had said of him that he created catastrophic ideologies in order to explain to himself his own ineptitude and his disgust for modern times; and it is true that Drieu himself felt painfully that he had never fulfilled his early promise as a writer, and blamed himself for having dissipated his energies among philosophy, politics, poetry, and prose, instead of having been true to one form of literature alone. Whatever its cause, this malady of the spirit was an admirable preparation for his adherence to fascism. Like many another man of his age, he felt the need of a religion, and satisfied it by deifying a political theory. And regular attendance at the Nuremberg congresses only served to confirm him in his faith.

When the Germans entered Paris he remained constant to his openly declared convictions, and became a loyal supporter of the Vichy government and its foreign masters. For a time he acted as editor of a newspaper called *Les Dernières Nouvelles de Paris*, in which he suggested that France should undergo five years of Nazi reorganization, and should then take her place as the French portion of Hitler's Europe. The proposal was not kindly received by the general public, and the paper was discontinued, after which Drieu assumed the editorship of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, many of whose contributors had, like himself, welcomed the New Order, though some, following the example of André Gide, had promptly resigned. A congress of "neo-European" writers was held in Weimar in 1941, and Drieu attended so that he might learn the policy to be adopted by the *N.R.F.* It was decided that the periodical should be purely literary, so that, avoiding politics, it might be left uncensored. Thus the Germans need receive no contradiction when they claimed that their attitude towards literature in the new France was most liberal and encouraging. But the director of the *N.R.F.* (whose enemies said there was nothing left French about it but the name) was expected to spread fascist propaganda among the intellectuals, and this Drieu did faithfully, both in articles and in well-advertised speeches. He expressed amazement that the French people refused to accept their defeat as part of the inevitable course of history, as he did himself. He urged them to enter gladly into that death which was necessary before they could enjoy their resurrection, to forget what they had been for so long, to discover within themselves the hidden source of life and of miracles which would transform them into a young, vigorous, brutal nation. But, again like Gilles, he found his pleas in vain, and the New Order on which he had staked his fortunes proved to be only the last and greatest of his illusions.

REVIEWS

FRENCH TRAGEDY[1]

A. F. B. CLARK

French tragedy—in the literary and histrionic sense—has always been distinguished from the allied art in other nations by its greater concentration, its complete and overwhelming character, unrelieved by comic or lyric interludes, its streamlined sweep from prosperity to disaster so different from the groping, lumbering, reluctant *descensus Averni* of an Elizabethan drama, for example. Political and military tragedy in the form of literal actuality seems often to take on the same catastrophic aspect in France. How frequently has France been plunged from the height of glory into the depths of humiliation in a sudden manner that seemed almost to betray the master hand of a classic dramatist observant of the unities of action, time, and place! The Hundred Years' War after the Crusades, the "Ligue" and the Religious Wars after the Renaissance splendour of Francis, the Seven Years' War and the loss of an Empire after the *Grand Siècle*, the Allies bivouacking in the Champs Élysées after the Napoleonic epic, the severance of Alsace-Lorraine and the great indemnity after the gallant adventures of the Second Empire—what a rhythmic beat of tragic vicissitude these successive dramas set up in French history, and what reserves of energy and faith a people must have always to survive them successfully!

The latest of these tragedies has been enacted before our eyes, but most of us have been too far from the stage to catch the finer points of the performance, to note the facial expression of the actors, or to overhear their asides; above all, few of us are in a position to view this particular drama in its proper perspective as part of the French tragic cycle. The two books before us, both written by men singularly qualified for their task—the one a great French political journalist, the other a distinguished English historian—are the best instruments yet available to remedy these deficiencies. Unequal in scale and importance, they yet are complementary to each other, the Frenchman's book being more impassioned in spirit and also infinitely more circumstantial regarding the recent crisis, the Englishman's more detached in tone and valuable for the way in which it relates this crisis to previous crises in modern French history. But both works—especially that of Pertinax—should appeal to a much wider audience than that comprising students of French history; they should not be left unread by anyone interested in the present *mores* and the prospects of survival of what we ordinarily call democracy anywhere in the world.

Guedalla's *The Two Marshals* is the slighter of the two books, but also

[1] *The Gravediggers of France: Gamelin, Daladier, Reynaud, Pétain, and Laval; Military Defeat, Armistice, Counter-Revolution.* By PERTINAX. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company. 1944. Pp. xii, 612. ($7.50)

The Two Marshals: Bazaine-Pétain. By PHILIP GUEDALLA. London: Hodder and Stoughton [Toronto: Musson Book Company]. 1943. Pp. 384. ($3.50)

the better composed, the more readable, the more easily digestible. It is, indeed, a very accomplished specimen of that contemporary English school of historical and biographical writing whose origins seem traceable to the manner of the late Lytton Strachey. It is history based on sound erudition, and even original research, but served up to the average intelligent reader in a style marked by precision and lightness of touch without irrelevant pedantry or alarming foot-notes (the "authorities" are "kennel'd in the rear"), and garnished with piquant anecdote, picturesque descriptive touches, and shrewd reflections condensed into witty epigrams. A pervasive note of ironic detachment puts the most moving events at a cool distance from the reader and gives them the aspect of "scenes from the human comedy," without, however, prejudicing an occasional note of deep though restrained emotion when the author judges that the situation deserves it. This is a difficult team of effects to keep pulling abreast, and the general impression of ease and smoothness that emanates from the book is a tribute to the author's skill.

The origin of the book is obviously to be found in the author's stated intention "for many years" to follow his work on the Second Empire with a study of Bazaine. The bulk of it is devoted to the unlucky soldier who was court-martialled for his supposedly traitorous surrender of Metz during the Franco-Prussian war. Guedalla's is the most recent and probably the best-documented attempt to reverse the decision of the court. (Pertinax would apparently not agree with the English historian, if we are to judge from a note on page 574 of *The Gravediggers of France*.) Fortunately it does not concern us to determine the rightness, or otherwise, of Guedalla's view on this point; what interests us are the three additional chapters on Pétain's career down to the German occupation of Vichy France in November, 1942, which the author has grafted on this study of Bazaine, and in the course of which he compares and contrasts the fortunes of "the two marshals." "One of them surrendered Metz in 1870 and was sentenced to death, while the other surrendered France in 1940 and was sentenced to become its ruler. The first Marshal was made a scapegoat by his defeated country; and when the second Marshal came to power, the scapegoat was France." The picture of Pétain which emerges from Guedalla's book—and which is more complete than Pertinax's for the early part of his career—though less bitter than that limned by Pertinax, is almost as damning and confirms the latter's indictment at nearly every point.

The Gravediggers of France is a very different affair. It is a huge volume of over 600 capacious pages with numerous foot-notes, bursting with information as well as with argument and interpretation. For several reasons its contents are not easy to grasp as a whole. The plan is a peculiar one, beginning with a section on Gamelin (Military Defeat), then going back to Daladier (Political and Administrative Failure), then forging to the front again with Reynaud (Abortive Attempt at Dynamism), and settling down finally to two long sections on Pétain, which amount to nearly half the

volume. The reasons for this "flash-back" method are not wholly apparent, though the writer tells us that he would "never have managed to get out of the forest's recesses" had he followed a strictly chronological sequence, and has therefore "held firm to the four protagonists whose trail is the most clearly blazed through the thicket"; but the result is that it is the reader who has difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees. This disadvantage could have been mitigated if a chronological table had been provided, or even if the index had been more complete. Awkward constructions, resulting from hurried and negligent composition, as well as occasional slips in English (the book is an English version of the original French edition), constitute other obstacles to rapid assimilation.

But these few reservations shrink into insignificance before the riches lavished upon the present-day reader and the future historian in these close-packed pages. Here is as complete a *dossier* as can be assembled at present in the case of France *versus* her "grave-diggers," namely, the politicians and the *militaires* who conspired (for that is what Pertinax explicitly accuses them of doing) against the Third Republic and democracy in general. What has been a loose charge or a vague suspicion abroad since the Armistice of June, 1940, is here transformed into a precise and terrible *J'accuse*, buttressed by masses of evidence and keen legalistic argument. Nor is the indictment confined to the parties mentioned above; it embraces such august institutions as the Bank of France, the Stock Exchange, big business, the French Academy, much of the press, and, indeed, high Parisian society itself. For they were all obsessed with the dread of "Revolution," of "Bolshevism"—"Better Hitler than Blum!"[2] That is the kernel of the book; and it is well to realize that this great French journalist,[3] who was for over thirty years the political commentator for that famous conservative and Catholic paper, the *Écho de Paris* (and who resigned his position there only a few years before the war to edit the liberal and internationally-minded *Europe Nouvelle*) finds himself constrained to place the blame for the collapse of France squarely on the shoulders of the conservative, and not of the so-called "radical," elements in French society. That does not mean that he clears the latter of all responsibility; he finds Blum guilty of slowing up armament-production just at the critical moment by his forty-hour-week law, and condemns the inefficient manner in which the nationalization of the armament factories was carried out, but he judges the orthodox monetary policy of the conservatives equally responsible for the "economic anemia" that made rearmament almost impossible. In general his verdict is that the conservative groups "were, far more than the 'Reds,' in a position to influence the nation as a whole." Daladier and Reynaud are not included among those actually friendly to totalitarianism; the charge against them is that, through their

[2]Weygand objected to de Gaulle's "mechanized army," because, said he: "What a fertile breeding-ground for communists these gangs of mechanics would be." (P. 329.)

[3]Pertinax is a pseudonym for André Geraud.

slackness and lack of will-power, they allowed themselves to be made the tools, not only of men like Bonnet, Flandin, and Laval, but of officials in the government ministries who were actual conspirators; it is his revelations of the nefarious activities of these gentlemen (Baudoin, Bouthillier, Leca, Devaux, etc.), as well as those of the notorious Mme de Portes in the *coulisses* of government, that constitute probably the most original contribution of Pertinax to the understanding of events.

Pertinax is well aware that he will be reproached by many for trying to write history before the subject-matter "has had a chance to cool off." Yet he feels that "a provisional synthesis" is not only possible but, in this case, indispensable for the guidance of the British and Americans as well as of the French themselves in dealing practically with French affairs at this critical moment. He also anticipates the charge that his very title betrays bias and partisanship. He meets it in a way that might offer food for reflection to the cautious, academic type of mind not unknown in Canada: "I answer that strong convictions, with only the partisanship of truth stamped upon them, are useful. France very nearly died because of those who tried not to have convictions." He explains that his documentation is based mainly upon his own voluminous diary or "note-books" which he has kept for decades and with special fulness since 1934, in which he recorded his conversations with all kinds of people. He seems to have been a veritable unofficial Intelligence Department in the person of one man.

It follows that what we have in *The Gravediggers* is not so much historiography as a superior kind of journalism, or better, that kind of record in which the French have always excelled, namely "memoirs." Many a page could worthily take its place beside famous passages from the great *mémorialistes* like De Retz or Saint-Simon. There is the same sense for the picturesque yet significant episode, the characteristic remark or gesture, the same gift for trenchant phrase. The style is, of course, very different from Guedalla's. The slight raising of the eye-brow, the scarcely perceptible inflection of the voice, the whispered innuendo that are sufficient for the detached English observer, are replaced by the frank anger, the biting scorn, the galling sorrow of the outraged patriot. Here are a few samples of the anthology that might be culled from Pertinax's pages: on Gamelin, "He had transformed into a sort of monomania much that he should have forgotten, and he had forgotten much that should have held his attention continuously," or "this military Buddha with his unequalled serenity"; on Daladier, his saying that "The first and last word in military art is to build a trench and hold it"; on the frequent changes of cabinets where ministers merely changed places, "A relative stability was obtained by a sort of high frequency"; on the rejoicing in Paris when Daladier returned from Munich, "France's first capitulation was being hailed as though it were a victory"; on Reynaud, "His mind was soft under a hard surface of words"; on Pétain (for whom Pertinax keeps his bitterest thrusts), "*Marshal* originally meant a slave in charge of the horses. Pétain has dragged down the marshalship

to its original significance." Characteristic passages in the Saint-Simonian manner are those on Mme de Portes (pp. 237-8, 308), on Georges Mandel (pp. 275-7), on the last meeting of Churchill and Reynaud (pp. 278-81), on Blum (pp. 370-5). Points on which particularly interesting new light is thrown are: the nationalization of the armament factories (pp. 123-4), Daladier's machinations against Russia (pp. 152-5), the reasons for the late evacuation of Paris (pp. 227-8), Hitler's consent to the Munich conference when he learned Daladier was actually preparing for war (p. 402), the failure of the Allies to keep Russia informed of conferences with Hitler in 1938 (p. 403), the Russo-Franco-British negotiations in 1939 (p. 406), the interval between the English and French declarations of war in 1939 (p. 410), Laval's plan to set up a fascist government in 1935 (pp. 423-4), the "two Frances" (p. 426), the origin of "non-intervention" in Spain (p. 433), Pétain's (and Churchill's?) plan to restore the monarchy (p. 495 and note). The terrible portrait of Darlan (pp. 508 ff.) stands alone in literature as the archetype of the opportunist. The whole section on Pétain, Laval, and Darlan attains heights of Juvenalian indignation that only Barbier and Hugo have reached before in French literature.

It is a dreadful tale of inefficiency, apathy, cowardice, selfishness, sordid intrigue, and downright muddle-headedness. But are these vices peculiar to France? Where is the democracy that is not forced to confess: "There, but for the grace of God (and of channels and oceans), go I"? Could not a book be written on "The (all but) Gravediggers of England"?

But Pertinax has still more disagreeable things in store for us when, in his Epilogue, he turns to the future. Shivers will go up and down the Anglo-Saxon spine at these words near the close: "If the French people, on the plea of unity and of so-called national reconciliation, were to revert to its easy-going ways before the cataclysm, further disasters would be added in the peace to those already wrought by war. What we must hope for is a break with the past as clean as the break of 1789." If this is not a call for revolution—peaceable, perhaps, but revolution—what do words mean? And he makes quite clear that by revolution he means the utter eradication of all fascist or semi-fascist elements. Is it not significant that at the very same moment President Beneš of Czechoslovakia warns us[4] that, though "revolution is not a word which the English-speaking people care to use," the elimination of Nazi ideas in Europe will in fact necessitate "a political, social and moral revolution on the whole European continent," while Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister in the late Loyalist government of Spain, announces[5] that, even if Spanish blood has to be shed again, the Spanish Republicans will not rest till Franco and his government are destroyed? And all this at the very moment when the Western Allies have started appeasing Franco again and trying to set up semi-fascist régimes in other Mediterranean countries! It looks as if these European liberals were a peculiarly stubborn variety of those awful New Dealers!

[4] *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 19. [5] *The Nation*, Nov. 4.

PRATT'S COLLECTED WORK[1]

E. K. BROWN

In the career of a poet the first collected or selected edition appears late. The *Poems* of Duncan Campbell Scott came out in 1926 when he was sixty-four; the *Collected Poems* of E. J. Pratt, the next of the masters, belong to his sixty-second year. Neither of the books is complete; wisely the poets sifted their earlier collections and kept only what reconsideration showed to be excellent. Mr. Pratt has left out most of his first collection, *A Book of Newfoundland Verse* (1923), several of the shorter pieces in the volume of 1937, *The Fable of the Goats*, and even the least effective poem in so recent a book as *Still Life*, the volume of 1943. His discriminations among his own poems are wise; the only exclusions I should question are those of "The Mirage" and "The Text of the Oath," the former a perfect evocation in a sonnet of a moment of intense surprise, the latter one of those ironic comments on war which were characteristic of a sensitive intelligence in the nineteen-thirties. A few short pieces, especially in the section called "A Miscellany," might have been omitted without loss. What is specially satisfying in the choice for the collected edition is Mr. Pratt's resolve to reprint all his longer poems (except, of course, the early and privately printed *Rachel*); for it is by these poems, narrative or quasi-narrative, that he will chiefly have his enduring fame; and to his interpreters it is encouraging to find the poet giving them a measure of support in their insistence that this is so.

Less satisfying than the canon is the arrangement: there are four sections, the first uncaptioned, the second "Newfoundland Reminiscences," the third, much the shortest, "A Miscellany," and the fourth "Extravaganzas." Several objections occur. It is not at all clear why some of the shorter pieces were relegated to "A Miscellany," while others were retained in the first section; the best explanation I can suggest is that in the first section Mr. Pratt has placed most of his recent work (except for "extravaganzas"), and in the third those pieces which are relatively early, unrelated to Newfoundland or less wholly satisfying to him. If he had been asked to abridge the collection I believe that several of the pieces in the third section would have been his first sacrifices. Naturally the line between "Newfoundland Reminiscences" and "Extravaganzas" is not an easy one to draw; in an "extravaganza" there might easily be a reminiscence of the old colony. It is a disappointment that the two great poems which made up *Titans*, the volume of 1926, have been separated, "The Cachalot" standing among the "Reminiscences" and "The Great Feud" among the "Extravaganzas." I should have preferred a simple division into two sections, the narrative and quasi-narrative in one, the non-narrative in the other. By such a division the reader new to Mr. Pratt's work—and one of the aims a collected or selected edition should have is to extend the circle of a poet's readers—would sooner have taken his bearings and fallen under Mr. Pratt's mighty spell.

[1] *Collected Poems*. By E. J. PRATT. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1944. Pp. xii, 314. ($3.00)

These observations are offered in the hope that when the second printing comes—and surely it should come soon!—unnecessary obstacles will be razed, and the poetry liberated to produce on old readers and new the full impact of its greatness. For this is great poetry. I am one of those who have demanded in print, and not once but many times, that the best of Mr. Pratt's work should be gathered into one volume. I have done so because I believed *dur comme fer* that once his many-sided powers were seen together the effect on the general reader would be much stronger than any that Mr. Pratt's work has yet had. I much regret anything that even slightly cuts the total effect.

In these columns and elsewhere I have expressed my praise for most of the main poems in the collection. Now I can but say that, reading them through once more, it seems to me that they outrun any praise that I have expressed. *Brébeuf and His Brethren* is the supreme epic reconstruction of our past; "The Great Feud" turns one's imagination with irresistible sweep first towards such mastodons as that great poetic scientist W. R. Parks collected and arranged in the Royal Ontario Museum, and then to the expansive and rugged sort of existence they once had; as a meditative lyric "Silences" sets Mr. Pratt beside Mr. Robinson Jeffers; and then there is the inexhaustible richness of the marine epics, *The Titanic*, *The Roosevelt and the Antinoe*, *Dunkirk*, and the incomparable "Cachalot." But there is no need to develop one's praise of the masterpieces once more.

Instead it might be apt to inquire why such a large body of great poetry has gone so little noticed. It is only in the past few years that any wide circle of readers has begun to accept Mr. Pratt as a poet of a high, rare, and important kind, and even today the circle is not notably wide, nor the acceptance notably firm. We have had among us a great poet and we have not known it. One reason for our failure to know I have considered in a recent number of the *Civil Service Review*:[2] as a people we are not sensitive to the quality of poetry or appreciative of its importance in the national life.

Here I should like to consider another reason. Our critics have been unperceptive, or clumsy, or diffident, or merely lazily silent. When a great poet begins to publish his master works, an account, which should be both an analysis and an appraisal, may properly be expected from the critics who are nearby and who have a degree of intellectual and spiritual kinship with the poet. When the works appear far from the chief critical centres, as Mr. Pratt's have done, the obligation upon such critics as I have described becomes a weightier one, I should say an inescapable one. What, we may ask, have the Canadian critics, and especially the academic critics, done to illuminate the nature of Mr. Pratt's work and stress its rare worth? They have done very little, scarcely anything. There is a perceptive and enthusiastic essay by Professor W. E. Collin in *The White Savannahs;* and here and there a few valuable reviews may be found; but in the main, academic criticism failed flatly to appreciate Mr. Pratt's magnitude until

[2] "Our Neglect of Our Literature" (*Civil Service Review*, XVII, 306ff.).

in the past two or three years two men twenty years his juniors have been insisting repeatedly upon that magnitude. We have gained the right to ask why our seniors did not carry out the first instalment of the task a decade and more in the past.

Canadian criticism, and especially Canadian academic criticism, has been desperately conservative. The professors did well by Marjorie Pickthall because she was a derivative poet, and thus they could easily see where her power lay, and could cope with it. They have done ill by Mr. Pratt. I am reminded of a comment in the French Catholic weekly *Sept* some years ago when the French Academy rejected Paul Claudel in favour of a sensation-mongering traditional novelist of the seventeenth class. *Sept* observed that the failure of Claudel had been necessary to establish that genius and genius alone was enough to alienate the Academy. The Academy had scorned Verlaine, but one could not be sure that it was his genius that did it, for he was in and out of prisons and an *habitué* of dives. The Academy had turned a frozen eye on Baudelaire; but there was Baudelaire's mulatto mistress, and his addiction to hasheesh, just as tangible facts as his volumes of verse and prose. Now the Academy rejected Paul Claudel, who was an ambassador of France, a lay saint, and an exemplar of Franciscan humility and courtesy; the only thing that could stir any misgiving about Claudel was his genius. No one can know Mr. Pratt without feeling a strong attraction towards him; no one can know him well without feeling deep respect for his utter integrity, his boundless generosity, and his balanced wisdom on the great issues of life, and as deep affection for his simplicity and humility and charm. But he has genius; and because of that he has all too often been set off in some corner or spoken of as if he were a mere nice piece of odd bric-à-brac. Those who may plead that they have not doubted his genius, but have merely not got round to saying in print that they believed in it, are properly to be charged with indifference to the obligations upon them as students of letters resident in Canada.

As I close what opened as a homage to one of the greatest of Canadians and has become an indictment of the reception great men of one sort are given in Canada, I should like to point towards the future. It is almost too late for Canadians to do anything for the better understanding of Mr. Pratt's genius abroad—the Americans will see a collected edition of his work later in the year and they may be counted on to do now the job we should have done long ago. Instead of pleading that more be done for the better understanding of Mr. Pratt's work at home, I should rather invite the Canadian critics and especially the academic critics, to consider whether there has not already appeared among us another poet, younger by a generation than Mr. Pratt and already giving proofs of many-sided originality. Must he wait twenty unnecessary years?

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO JOYCE*

ROY DANIELLS

The mass of writing concerning Shakespeare—his life, his work, his times, his heroes, and his heroines—has long been an obstacle to more than intuitive appreciation of the plays. Many of us, shuddering at the corpus of Shakespearian criticism, decided early to find a way round rather than through it, and were later grateful when we discovered that Professor Stoll had cleared a path or two in the jungle by a process of simplification (which is not a simple process). He insists that the plays must be viewed objectively, in the achromatic light of the playwright's intention, and that this intention is the development of dramatic situation and not the fabrication of characters which can be analysed as characters in real life. Such, with a variety of emphasis and the support of a polyglot erudition, has for more than a quarter-century been his theme.

The new book, *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, is a continuation, or rather amplification, of Professor Stoll's previous work, and he is careful to establish the continuity. Here, as everywhere, he is the ideally rational and objective critic, of the school of Scherer. Works of literature, he insists, are not synonymous with life, not even with the lives of their authors; drama presents to its audience the emotional and the universal, embodied in stirring situations, at the cost of frequent divergence from the actual and violation of the probable. Shakespeare, Milton, and the plays of the Restoration again afford Professor Stoll materials for a convincing argument, in the course of which familiar figures like Falstaff, Shylock, Jaques, and Belial take on a new objectivity. Objectivity, that is, in the sense that they are seen to be creatures of the stage, of the author's dramatic or epic intention: for this intention is Professor Stoll's polar star. He develops and elaborates the old lines:

> A perfect Judge will read each work of Wit
> With the same spirit that its author writ.

The title of the book fails to indicate its thematic and polemic unity: three-quarters of it is devoted to showing conclusively that drama, reflecting the taste of its time rather than the time itself, is concerned first and last with situation even at the cost of probability. The title is also misleading in its implication that Professor Stoll is interested in contemporary writing. On the contrary, with gesture stern he repels "the present hapless era of Unreason" as a "revolutionary age"—including, it appears, most if not all of the nineteenth century.

To the establishment of his critical position Professor Stoll brings an intensely rational mind and a staggering scholarship (to the reader, that is: the author has the shoulders of Hercules). His erudite method, his sense of the autonomy of the work of art, his fine ear for qualities of style: these are instruments which he employs in the grand strategy of his demon-

**From Shakespeare to Joyce.* By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1944. Pp. xxii, 442. ($3.50)

stration. His argument drives on over all opposition of Romantic critics and the reader is carried with it resistlessly "o'er shields, and helms, and helmèd heads." An exception may be noted in the last three chapters: these present a mellow consideration of Milton's romanticism, of his handling of space and time, and of the beautifully graduated approach to the close of *Paradise Lost*. "Some natural tears" may be excused as the reader leaves this oasis.

It is at chapter eighteen, on psychoanalysis in criticism, however, that the book really bursts open. The author has already given many proofs of his distrust of the modern (not to mention the strictly contemporary) world. If there is a good word for the present century, I have not found it. "He loves us not." He dislikes equally our realistic sordidness and our "ferment of sentimentality and humanitarianism"; faced with "modernizing tendencies" he can offer only correction and reproof. It is to be imagined, then, what happens when the subject is James Joyce as interpreted by Mr. Edmund Wilson! Joyce, says Professor Stoll, has been praised for producing the effects of the unconscious, but it is by carefully conscious means; Joyce's structure is forced and frigid, laboured and grotesque; Joyce shows no evidence of a narrative method; he is wilfully unintelligible. In fact, Joyce and his readers are really mad, for *Finnegan* alienates the healthy-minded. In any case, his adherents are mostly parlour proletarians and radicals . . . . At this point the reader of chapter eighteen becomes a trifle embarrassed. It seems scarcely fitting that Professor Stoll should be found in the company of Lord Elton and Alfred Noyes, crying out that Joyce (like Proust), because he adopts a specific technical form and method, is thereby despicable and depraved. And on simple critical grounds there are too many particular points and large arguments to the contrary. The first readers of *Tristram Shandy* must have found it strangely lacking in narrative method, too. Blake is, even now, less intelligible than Joyce. And, what is always forgotten, Joyce, like Picasso, has done enough good work in an agreed convention of style to be accorded respect, at least. Is Melville condemned because *Moby Dick*, like *Ulysses*, stands midway between an early, simple style and a late, more difficult one? But the real evidence for Joyce is that, as a contemporary creative mind, he has done in prose a thing similar to that done in verse by Mr. T. S. Eliot: *Ulysses* is becoming a classic (and not merely a *locus classicus*), against the same handicaps that slowed the progress of *The Waste Land* to that position. It is a matter of common observation that *Ulysses* affords, to numbers of those who on any count would be reckoned among the judicious, a sober and continuing, if qualified, delight; and the collateral evidence should not be overlooked of a similar enlargement of taste in the non-verbal arts. It is because Joyce is so patently of the contemporary world that he incurs dislike. "If fifty or sixty years ago," says Professor Stoll, "either [Joyce or Miss Stein] had been brought by his or her relatives up before the appropriate tribunal, with *Finnegan* or *Preciosilla* as evidence—but it could

not happen now." The tone is a mingled one, but there is in it definite regret.

Professor Stoll, as we have said, is not easily put in the wrong. *Nemo illum impune lacessit.* His logic is irresistible, his store of examples overwhelming, his tone positive; we find ourselves agreeing that the world of criticism after two millenia shows no progress. Yet, under our breath we can hear ourselves murmuring, *E pur si muove;* and inaudibly we hope that Mr. Wilson will escape and write some more books. We do cherish a kind thought of our slattern age, much as Touchstone did of his slattern,—"an ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own." The truth is that Professor Stoll's classic virtues neither permit him to relish his own times nor furnish a sufficient guide to the contemporary critic. He appears sometimes to forget that creation is not fundamentally a rational process, that the total intention of an artist may be ambivalent, subtle and recondite to a degree. What would happen, under his methods, to lyrical poetry, which has been shown with increasing certainty to be, in its finest embodiments, multiform in meaning and therefore in "intention"?

Furthermore, and specifically as regards method, the contemporary critic must perforce engage in Combined Operations. It is no longer a matter of heavy cavalry on "the plain highroad," but of co-ordinating every available arm to achieve the objective. Mr. Herbert Read's brilliant use of psychological approaches is enough to convince one of their value; Mr. Eliot has shown that each fresh work added to a tradition slightly changes the whole perspective; some sense of the relative nature of aesthetic standards is now a critical necessity. That process of exploration and enlargement which began even earlier than Renaissance and Reformation is still in progress; it can neither be reversed nor effectively repudiated. Our present soundings into the maelstrom of the unconscious, our present preoccupation with psychological issues and with the relative nature of experience, our feeling for the increased complexity of intellectual techniques: these mark a necessary stage in the great journey. The classic guide, like Virgil, will not refuse to come with us into the inferno.

Yet it would be graceless to end without reaffirming our positive debt to Professor Stoll. For Shakespearian criticism in particular he has performed a necessary and neglected task, in dissolving romantic fancies and uncovering concrete conventions. One recalls the tribute of Santayana to Josiah Royce—that he "had a powerful and learned mind, and it was always profitable if not pleasant to listen to him." "His comfortless dissatisfaction . . . ," said Santayana, "disturbed a too easy dogmatism." If Professor Stoll has little sympathy for anything much closer to us than the eighteenth century, we may at least apply to him, with equal justice, Arnold's summary praise: "excellent and indispensable."

SHAKESPEARE AND THE ACTORS*

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

When Fechter played Othello, he deliberately gazed in a mirror as he recited the words, "It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul." In 1783 it was noted that John Philip Kemble, at the end of the first act of *Hamlet*, made that clear distinction between "trust in Horatio's secrecy" and "doubt of Marcellus" which Professor J. Dover Wilson has so recently put forward as a new interpretation of this scene of "wild and whirling words."

Between these two extremes is included the mass of information which Dr. Sprague has painstakingly gathered. Amid the variety of business he records we are continually being surprised, now by the absurdities of which some actors, in their straining after novelty, permitted themselves to be guilty, now by the unerring good sense and penetration of judgment which made some of them anticipate in a practical manner the subtlest theories of modern scholar and critic.

Dr. Sprague has well accomplished an important task. From the meticulous examination of a vast mass of source-material—contemporary journals, theatrical *memorabilia*, printed texts, and manuscript prompt-books—he has done full justice to a subject which, if not literary, has a very important bearing on the elucidation of Shakespeare's scenes. Much information bearing on this subject is lacking, since in earlier days prompter's marginalia were scanty and only a few spectators took the trouble to record more than general impressions of their stage idols' styles of performance; but we may rest assured that Dr. Sprague has succeeded in assembling by far the greater part of such evidence as is available. Some new prompt-books may turn up later and there is certainly more to be gleaned from periodical literature, particularly of the nineteenth century, yet it is unlikely that any new material collected from such sources will do more than add a few other details to the picture here so vividly presented; certainly that picture will not materially be altered by any new discoveries. As all who know his earlier studies are aware, Dr. Sprague, when he undertakes to scan a chosen theme, does his work painstakingly and well.

Concerning one thing only, regret may be expressed. Because of the nature of his subject, Dr. Sprague has had to arrange his findings into small watertight compartments, play following play in the succession of comedies, histories, and tragedies. This, indeed, was the only way of dealing with the mass of diverse and generally unrelated evidence at his disposal. One could have wished, however, that he might have given himself the opportunity of presenting, more fully than he was able to do in his twelve-page introduction, some of his own conclusions on certain interesting general questions. Of such questions the two most significant are these: Did the stage after 1660 preserve any "pieces of business" derived from Shakespeare's own

**Shakespeare and the Actors; The Stage Business in His Plays, 1660-1905.* By ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xxv, 440. ($5.00)

time? Is there any evidence to show that up to the middle of the eighteenth century stage business was conditioned more by tradition than by the innovations of succeeding generations of actors? Though Dr. Sprague shows himself aware of these questions, he avoids a clear answer to either. Perhaps no such clear answer, in the paucity of relevant documentary source-material, is possible, but it is to be wished that the author, having thus immersed himself so deeply in this theme, could have hazarded at least some more definite guesses than are given on the last two pages of his introduction. It may be, of course, that he is merely reserving judgment, since valid judgment in such matters would have to be based on more than a study of stage practice from the Restoration onwards, would have to be founded on a comparison between what Dr. Sprague has now given us and equally careful scrutiny of Elizabethan acting methods. While stage directions in quarto and folio are few, it should be possible, both from a detailed study of Shakespeare's lines considered as an actor's medium and from an examination of the texts of contemporary playwrights, to frame a mental picture of what devices the Elizabethan players used in general for the expression of certain dominant emotions. Approaches have been made towards such a study, but more work still remains to be done and it would be excellent if Dr. Sprague himself were to undertake the task. There might then be a chance of his determining whether, in the recorded business of some late seventeenth and early eighteenth century performers, we were indeed touching hands with the unrecorded business, interpretative of his meaning, taught by the actor-poet Shakespeare to his fellows.

In the meantime, we must be grateful indeed to Dr. Sprague for having assembled so thoroughly, and presented so entertainingly, information certain to be of enduring value alike to students of Shakespeare and to future stage interpreters of his roles.

RESEARCH LIBRARY OF THE FUTURE* — W. S. WALLACE

In the history of literature, there have been certain technological revolutions that have had far-reaching effects. One of these, for example, was the invention of printing. It is by no means certain that the proposals in this little book (the somewhat academic title of which does less than justice to its importance) may not portend a revolution hardly less important than the invention of movable types. At any rate, they may be said to offer a solution to some of the problems that the invention of printing has brought upon us.

I do not know that anyone has attempted to compute the vast number of printed volumes that have flooded the world since 1450; but they

**The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library: A Problem and its Solution.* By FREMONT RIDER (Librarian, The Wesleyan University Library). New York: Hadham Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 236. ($4.00)

certainly number scores, and possibly hundreds, of millions. Of these, only a few millions are to be found in even the largest research libraries; and yet there is not one of these books that the research student may not want to see. The result is that research libraries have been engaged in a headlong attempt to acquire as large a book-stock as possible. As Mr. Rider shows, American research libraries have during the past century been doubling in size on an average of every sixteen years. If this curve is continued (and he argues cogently that there is no reason why it should not continue), a library like that of Yale University, which has now nearly 3,000,000 volumes, will in one hundred years "have approximately 200,000,000 volumes, which will occupy over 6,000 miles of shelves" and will "require a cataloguing staff of over six thousand persons." What university can contemplate even a building programme that would make such a library possible?

Various partial solutions of the problem have been suggested—such as storage plants for little-used volumes, or the micro-filming of newspapers and other research material, or inter-library co-operation in regard to acquisitions. But none of these solutions does more than touch the fringe of the problem. What university, for example, is going to agree that its library should specialize, let us say, in French literature or in biochemistry, and let other libraries specialize in all other fields? Even among libraries in a small area such co-operation in regard to acquisitions has proved very difficult to obtain.

Mr. Rider's proposals offer the only solution (so far as this reviewer is aware) which seems to have a reasonable chance of limiting the uncontrolled growth of research libraries, and yet at the same time meeting the demands of research students. What he proposes is so simple as to seem fantastic: he proposes to put books in *micro-print* on the backs of the library catalogue cards. There the student may consult them by means of a Readex machine, without even the bother of turning the pages. Numbers of these cards can be obtained at a cost only a fraction of the cost of the book itself; and costs in connection with cataloguing, circulation, shelving, and binding are virtually eliminated. Instead of an enormous stack-room for books, all the library will require will be additional space for its card-catalogue. Once the scheme is in full operation, the library's book-stock will be limited to works of reference, to students' copies of required reading, and to copyright material. All that vast mass of research material included in out-of-print books, in government documents, in back files of periodicals and newspapers, will be on the backs of catalogue-cards. Every specialist will be able to have in his study, at a trifling cost, all the micro-printed literature of his subject; and the problem of the departmental library will virtually disappear, since it will involve duplication of cards rather than duplication of books. The vista of possibilities which the proposal opens is almost endless.

That there are difficulties to be surmounted before his scheme is in full

operation, Mr. Rider is abundantly aware. Who is to undertake to make the micro-printed catalogue cards? Is it to be a central organization, like the Library of Congress, or are the cards to be made by libraries which have undertaken to specialize in given fields? How soon will Readex machines be so cheap that every research student will be able to afford to buy one? Will human nature rebel at the prospect of having to read micro-print rather than the fair printed page? Mr. Rider discusses all these questions; and his answers are at any rate candid. But behind all these discussions is the paramount question: *What alternative solution is there to the problem of the geometrical progression in the growth of research libraries?*

Finally, Mr. Rider urges that no time should be lost in putting his proposals into effect. Let his reasons be set forth in his own words:

> By sheer coincidence, it happens that, at this very moment, another problem is pressing upon the scholarly and library worlds for collective, constructive action, for which micro-cards would seem to offer almost the ideal solution. All over the world—but particularly in Europe—great research libraries have been destroyed by enemy action. Many more are going to be destroyed before the war is over. And not only libraries, but booksellers' and publishers' stocks of books, millions of books . . . .
>
> This devastated-library problem has already received wide and thoughtful study. It has been proposed to reprint by photo-lithography, or to microfilm, or to photostat—each of these three methods has been suggested—certain of these essential research materials, and, having done this (either with government funds, or foundation funds, or both), to distribute sets of them to a hundred or more of the destroyed libraries of Europe and Asia.
>
> May it be suggested here that, instead of using any one of the three above-mentioned processes, these research materials be micro-carded. Even if we had only the first cost, the manufacturing cost, to consider, micro-cards would still seem to be the first choice, simply because micro-card copies are by far the cheapest to make . . . .
>
> In other words, to put it bluntly: the very war situation we are in offers us a unique opportunity *to initiate the micro-card era—if only we move quickly* to take advantage of it. But we shall have to move quickly: alternative steps in other directions are already under way, steps greatly *more costly*, and greatly *less useful*, to the libraries we are seeking to serve.

Could the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations find any better use for their money than in exploring and exploiting the possibilities latent in Mr. Rider's idea?

PHYSICS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY* — FRANK ALLEN

This is a small book on a big subject, for in scarcely more than a generation the infant Modern Physics has grown into the Colossus of Science. The task of the translator has been excellently done, for the difficult subject-matter is presented with the clarity and precision which doubtless were characteristic of the original work. While there are no mathematical formulae to bother the general reader, there are, it is to be regretted, no illustrations to guide his imagination. No index is provided, so that it is difficult to relocate some interesting point which a first reading disclosed.

**Physics of the 20th Century.* By PASCUAL JORDAN. Translated by Eleanor Oshry. New York: Philosophical Library. 1944. Pp. xii, 185. ($4.00)

Very few misprints or errors have been noticed; but attention may be directed to the misspelling of Huygens as "Huyghens" (pp. 24, 33), and of Hahn as "Halm" (p. 177); to the half-life of radium as "1,580" years instead of 1,850 years (p. 107); to "million" for billion (p. 184, line 2); to the error of "through" for though (p. 159). The phonetic spelling "thru" (p. 155) occasionally occurs but not "tho." Some improvement might be made in the sentence (p. 164) which reads: "and there are voices present today which see a specific religious problem in our relation to the technology"; though the author or translator might attempt to justify "voices which see" by a misinterpretation of the "Blind mouths" of Milton's *Lycidas*.

It is a deserved tribute to the author that in so short a compass he has compressed the essential principles of the new physics and contrasted them so vividly with the old. The scope of the material which he has assembled from both physics and astronomy—for astronomy is physics on an infinite scale—is enormous, since it carries us from the infinitesimal world of the atom of 1×10^{-27} gramme to the 1×10^{55} grammes of matter in the universe, a difference in magnitude expressed by 1 with 82 zeros after it; from the "birth" of time and space until the former has now extended in duration to ten billion years, and the latter in diameter to ten billion light-years, which is still increasing at the "furious" velocity of light. He sees no present limit to the extension of knowledge in physics which is likewise advancing at a "tempestuous rate."

A pronounced feature of the book, which is distinctive of modern physics, is its peculiar philosophical character, forcibly reminding us that philosophy itself originated from the ancient Greek speculations on the nature of the physical world. In treatises of this kind it is again becoming customary to affirm the religious implications of physics, a practice which Newton followed, but by later writers abandoned.

The book will be appraised differently by the physicist and the "intelligent reader" who has gathered his knowledge of some of the revolutionary principles of the subject from magazine articles and popular works. From the point of view of the former, the broad review of the principles of both classical and modern physics, and the bearing of the significant experimental researches upon them, will be a pleasurable and often an exhilarating experience. To the latter class of readers, the omission of descriptions of the experiments cited will leave them in many cases unintelligible, so that the principles which follow from them will lack convincing power. To have remedied this deficiency would have increased the size of the book, it is true, but only, perhaps, by a score of pages.

The attitude of the author towards some aspects of modern physics may be mildly criticized. "The newly disclosed phenomena," he remarks, "liberated us from outmoded, traditional concepts, thought processes and ideas" (p. viii), though until the new aspects of the operations of nature were disclosed, no one knew that classical concepts were traditional, that

the processes of thinking and the ideas were outmoded, and that he was in need of liberation. Judging from the revolutionary ideas that have been introduced into physics in every era, with occasional reversions to former views, the author may be too optimistic in declaring "that the consummated revolution of our scientific knowledge is not to be made retrogressive by future new discoveries." In every era, however, the "modern" physics of the day has always resulted in attaining some new intellectual eminence, and the present epoch is no exception. The difficulty experienced in changing from accustomed to radically new ideas is natural. When the Copernican views of the solar system began to prevail over the Ptolemaic, one writer complained "so many ways is the sense of mortal man abused." Upon the publication of Newton's gravitational system of the world, it was asserted that "he has discovered truths but he has searched for and placed them in an abyss into which it is necessary to descend in order to bring them out and to place them in full light." Such is again the case when the dynamical world of Newton is being superseded by the hyper-geometrical universe of Einstein.

The author repeatedly sets in sharp contrast classical and modern physics. In the former, energy varied continuously; in the latter it is discontinuous. For in the atom, energy is absorbed and radiated in discrete bundles or quanta, half a quantum being impossible. "One cannot imagine," the author declares, "a fact which smacks in the face more brutally all the concepts on which classical physics is based" (p. 98). But before prematurely celebrating the anticipated obsequies of the victim, we read (p. 127), "Classical physics remains the indispensable support from which an advance into the world of quanta and atoms becomes possible."

In the macrophysical world of classical physics with its large masses and great quantities of energy, causality prevails; but in the microphysical realm of atoms, electrons, quanta of light, and the mysterious atomic nucleus, causality disappears and probability takes its place. But M. Jordan remarks (p. 127) that "quantum physics experiments are always performed with macrophysical apparatus," and, one may add, that the smaller the entity to be studied, the larger is the apparatus required. "We need," he further says, "macrophysical (thus functioning according to strict causality) apparatus to be able to make any corrrect observations at all and to be able to determine regularities in the atomic world." Thus the causality of the macrophysical world is necessary to prove the non-causality of the microphysical. Still it is pointed out that the contradiction is less real than apparent; which may be crudely illustrated by saying that the number of umbrellas lost yearly in London is a macrophysical constant, though the precise individuals suffering loss are microphysically indeterminate in advance.

In the sub-atomic world, probability and uncertainty prevail. But that does not mean inaccessibility to investigation. For probability and uncertainty also are subject to law. Of the former, Baden Powell, an historian

of physical science a century before the interior world of atoms was ever suspected, wrote: it is "a doctrine which applies to a vast range of the objects of our knowledge which are placed beyond the pale of absolute certainty. To supply fixed principles on which the probability of events may be estimated, and even expressed by mathematical formulae, is of all other inventions one of the most happy and important: it tends to put us in possession of the most sound principles on which to discriminate truth from error; and embraces as well the chances of future contingencies, as the probabilities of error in the present and the past, from the fallibility of observation; and has been well designated a fortunate supplement to the imperfection of our nature"; and, it may now be said, an intellectual approach to the apparent disorder of the ultimate world of matter.

In light, a two-fold mode of behaviour also exists. In the eighteenth century, under the influence of Newton, light was held to be corpuscular. In the nineteenth century, under the influence of Young, it was believed to be undulatory. In the twentieth century it possesses under some conditions a corpuscular and under others an undulatory structure. To circumvent the perplexing dualism, the principle of complementarity has been invented which states that while light may have one or the other state, it cannot in the same experiment have both. The embarrassment is far from lessened when it is learned that waves are essential to evaluate the quanta or corpuscles.

But dualism of waves and corpuscles (p. 99) is not confined to light; it characterizes matter itself, for electrons may also at one time appear as corpuscles, at another as packets of waves.

The relation of modern physics to religion figures conspicuously in the book (pp. x, 154-65, 185). On this subject the author announces that, while having definite opinions, he has carefully concealed them from the reader. He concerns himself especially with the views of Bavink, who has "developed the concept that in opposition to earlier, materialistic science, modern development of science is pressing towards a re-erection of the religious world picture."

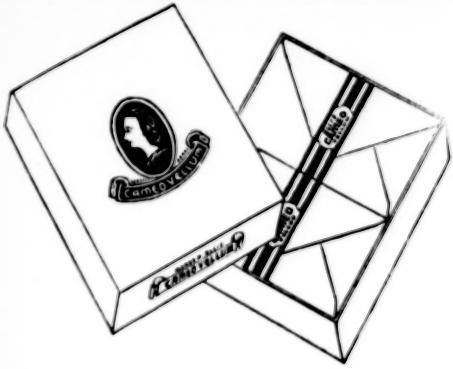
To speak of the "anti-religious position of science" is completely misleading, since many of the great founders of science such as Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Kelvin, Maxwell, and Faraday, were deeply religious men. Those scientists who have no religious belief seem to find satisfaction and relief in delegating their personal responsibility to impersonal science. For science is the intellectual concept of nature. As there are more grocers in the world than scientists, it is probable that there are among them a still greater number of unbelievers. How grotesque it would be to proclaim the "anti-religious position of the grocery business"!

The author of the book seems sympathetic to the *rapprochement* of science (i.e., scientists) with religion. But it is not a spiritual reconciliation in the common meaning of the word that is meant. What is meant is that it is possible to formulate physical principles in such a way as not to exclude

a suitable formulation of "theological" principles, which are also to be drawn up by the philosopher or scientist. But the question of "science and religion" is never settled; and the difficulty must persist as long as the principle is true that religion is in a different category from science and that spiritual things are discerned by the spirit. No doubt the steam engine and the dynamo are fully described in engineering books with no reference to their inventors. But if one desires a full intellectual comprehension of these great discoveries, it is impossible to ignore Watt and Faraday. These useful devices did not drop from nowhere into the world. Nor will it ever be possible adequately to comprehend the world unless the mind of its Creator is recognized.

This excellent book should have closed on a more elevated theme than that contained in the last paragraph, which refers to the supposed origin of the expanding universe. "And certainly this picture of the universe as exploding fireworks which went off ten billion years ago invites us to consider the remarkable question of Miguel de Unamuno, whether the whole world—and we with it—be not possibly only a dream of God; whether prayer and ritual perhaps be nothing but attempts to make Him more drowsy, so that He does not awaken and stop our dreaming."

The concepts of the remote intellectual deities of Plato and Aristotle, of the evolving deity of H. G. Wells, and of the drowsy deity of Unamuno, seem to be the best that man can devise. It is with relief, therefore, that we return to the personal Creator of Revelation.



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